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THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES

BY

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Dr Harnack opened the course of lectures which have been translated in this library under the title *What is Christianity?* with a reference to John Stuart Mill. The present work might also be introduced by a sentence from the same English thinker. In the second chapter of his essay upon "Liberty," he has occasion to speak with admiration and regret of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, confessing that his persecution of the Christians seems "one of the most tragical facts in all history." "It is a bitter thought," he adds, "how different a thing the Christianity of the world might have been, if the Christian faith had been adopted as the religion of the empire under the auspices of Marcus Aurelius instead of those of Constantine." Aurelius represents the apex of paganism during the first three centuries of our era. Chronologically, too, he stands almost equidistant between Christ and Constantine. But there were reasons why the adjustment of the empire to Christianity could not come earlier than the first quarter of the fourth century, and it is Dr Harnack's task in the present work to outline these reasons in so far as they are connected with the extension and expansion

of Christianity itself. How did the new religion come to win official recognition from the State in A.D. 325? Why then? Why not till then? Such is the problem set to the historian of the Christian propaganda by the ante-Nicene period. He has to explain how and why and where, within less than three centuries, an Oriental religious movement which was originally a mere ripple on a single wave of dissent in the wide sea of paganism, rose into a breaker which swept before it the vested interests, prejudices, traditions, and authority of the most powerful social and political organization that the world hitherto had known. The main causes and courses of this transition, with all that it involves of the inner life and worship of the religion, form Dr Harnack's topic in these pages.

In editing the book for an English audience I have slightly enlarged the index and added a list of New Testament passages referred to in the course of the volume. Wherever a German or French book cited by the author has appeared in an English dress, the corresponding reference has been subjoined. Also, in deference to certain suggestions received by the publishers, I have added, wherever it has been advisable to do so, English versions of the Greek and Latin passages which form so valuable and characteristic a feature of Dr Harnack's historical discussions. It is hoped that the work may be thus rendered more accessible and inviting than ever to that wider audience whose interest in early Christianity is allied to little or no Greek and Latin.

There is rich material here, however, for the expert and the student of church history as well,

and for their sakes no less than for the benefit of all readers who are advanced enough to recognize the educational value of a competent review, which is frequently like a lighted candle set beside an open volume, I may set down here some references to the various aspects of critical opinion upon the "Ausbreitung." Some of the ablest and most interesting have come, as was natural, from the pen of Roman scholars like F. X. Funk (*Theolog. Quartalschrift*, 1903, pp. 608–609), A. Labeau (*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 1903, pp. 76–85), Batiffol (*Revue biblique internationale*, July 1903), and H. D. in *Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels, 1903, pp. 459, 460). There are reviews in English by J. H. Wilkinson (*Critical Review*, 1903, pp. 202 f.), Dr W. F. Cobb (*Expository Times*, Dec. 1903, pp. 129 f.), and H. C. Vedder (*Amer. Journ. Theol.*, 1904, pp. 164–172), and a flood of German critiques by Holtzmann (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1902, li.-lii.), O. Pfleiderer (*Deutsche Rundschau*, 1903, pp. 259–272), Delbruck (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, 1903, pp. 521–523), Kropatscheck (*Theol. Literaturbericht*, 1903, pp. 221 f.), Preuschen (*Berliner philol. Wochensschrift*, 1903, pp. 1352–1359), and Wohlenberg (*Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1903, ix.), amongst others. To these may be added notices by Bonet-Maury (*Annal. de Bibl. Théologie*, 1903, iii.), Koch (*Théol. Revue*, 1902, xx.), Hj. Holmquist (*Kyrkohist. Arskr.*, 1903, p. 115), E. W. Watson (*Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 1904, pp. 289–291), and the present writer (*Hibbert Journal*, April 1903, pp. 579–590).

PREFACE

No monograph has yet been devoted to the mission and spread of the Christian religion during the first three centuries of our era. For the earliest period of church history we have sketches of the historical development of dogma and of the relation of the church to the state—the latter including Neumann's excellent volume. But the missionary history has always been neglected, possibly because writers have been discouraged by the difficulty of bringing the material to the surface and getting it delimited, or by the still more formidable difficulties of collecting and sifting the geographical data and statistics. The following pages are a first attempt, and for it I bespeak a kindly judgment. My successors, of whom there will be no lack, will be able to improve upon it.

I have one or two preliminary remarks to make, by way of explanation.

The primitive history of the church's missions lies buried among legends; or rather, it has been replaced by a history (which is strongly marked by tendency) of what is said to have been enacted in the course of a few decades throughout every country on the face of the earth. The composition of this history has gone on for more than a thousand years. The formation of legends in connection with the apostolic mission, which commenced as early as the first

century, was still thriving in the Middle Ages; it thrives, in fact, down to the present day. But the worthless character of this history is now recognized upon all hands, and in the present work I have hardly touched upon it, since I have steadily presupposed the results gained by the critical investigation of the sources. Whatever item from the apocryphal Acts, the local and provincial legends of the church, the episcopal lists, and the Acts of the martyrs, has *not* been inserted or noticed in these pages, has been deliberately omitted as useless. On the other hand, I have aimed at exhaustiveness in the treatment of reliable materials. It is only the Acts and traditions of the martyrs that present any real difficulty, and from such sources this or that city may probably fall to be added to my lists. Still, the number of such addenda must be very small. Inscriptions, unfortunately, almost entirely fail us. Dated Christian inscriptions from the pre-Constantine age are very rare, and only in the case of a few groups can we be sure that an undated inscription belongs to the third and not to the fourth century. Besides, the Christian origin of a very numerous class is merely a matter of conjecture, which cannot at present be established.

As the apostolic age of the church, in its entire sweep, falls within the purview of the history of Christian missions, some detailed account of this period might be looked for in these pages. No such account, however, will be found. For such a discussion one may turn to numerous works upon the subject, notably to that of Weizsäcker; after his labours, I had no intention of once more depicting Paul the missionary, but have confined myself to

the presentation of general characteristics within the period. What is set down here must serve as its own justification. It appeared to me not unsuitable, under the circumstances, to attempt to do some justice to the problems in a series of longitudinal sections; thereby I hoped to avoid repetitions, and, above all, to bring out the main currents and forces of the Christian religion coherently and clearly. The separate chapters have been compiled in such a way that each may be read by itself; but the unity of the whole work, I hope, has not been impaired thereby.

The basis chosen for this account of the early history of Christian missions is no broader than my own general knowledge of history and of religion—which is quite slender. My book contains no information upon the history of Greek or Roman religion; it has no light to throw on primitive myths and later cults, or on matters of law and of administration. On such topics other scholars are better informed than I am. For many years it has been my simple endeavour to remove the barriers between us, to learn from my colleagues whatever is indispensable to a correct estimate of such phenomena as they appear inside the province of church history, and to avoid presenting derived material as the product of original research.

With regard to ancient geography and statistics, I have noticed in detail, as the pages of my book will indicate, all relevant investigations. Unfortunately, works on the statistics of ancient population present results which are so contradictory as to be useless; and at the last I almost omitted the whole of these materials in despair. All that I have actually retained

is a scanty residue of reliable statistics in the opening chapter of Book I. and in the concluding observations. In identifying towns and localities I have followed the maps in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, the small maps in the fifth volume of Mommsen's Roman History, Kiepert's *Formae orbis antiquis* (so far as these have appeared), and some other geographical guides; no place which I have failed to find in these authorities has been inserted in my pages without some note or comment, the only exception being a few suburban villages. I had originally intended to furnish the book with maps, but as I went on I had reluctantly to abandon this idea. Maps, I saw, would give a misleading impression of the actual situation. For one thing, the materials at our disposal for the various provinces up to 325 A.D. are too unequal, and little would be gained by merely marking the towns in which Christians can be shown to have existed previous to Constantine; nor could I venture to indicate the density of the Christian population by means of colours. Maps cannot be drawn for any period earlier than the fourth century, and it is only by aid of these fourth-century maps that the previous course of the history can be viewed in retrospect.— The demarcation of the provinces, and the alterations which took place in their boundaries, formed a subject into which I had hardly any occasion to enter. Some account of the history of church-organization could not be entirely omitted, but questions of organization have only been introduced where it was unavoidable. My aim, as a rule, has been to be as brief as possible, to keep strictly within the limits of my subject, and never to repeat answers to any settled

questions, either for the sake of completeness or of convenience to my readers. The history of the expansion of Christianity within the separate provinces has merely been sketched in outline. Anyone who desires further details must of course excavate with Ramsay in Phrygia and the French *savants* in Africa, or plunge with Duchesne into the ancient episcopal lists, although for the first three hundred years the results all over this field are naturally scanty.

The literary sources available for the history of primitive Christian missions are fragmentary. But how extensive they are, compared to the extant sources at our disposal for investigating the history of any other religion within the Roman empire! They not only render it feasible for us to attempt a sketch of the mission and expansion of Christianity which shall be coherent and complete in all its essential features, but also permit us to understand the reasons why this religion triumphed in the Roman empire, and how the triumph was achieved. All the same, a whole series of queries remains unanswered, and the series includes those very questions that immediately occur to the mind of anyone who will look attentively into the history of Christian missions.

Several of my earlier studies in the history of Christian missions have been incorporated in the present volume, in an expanded and improved form. These I have noted as they occur.

I must cordially thank my honoured friend Professor Imelmann for the keen interest he has taken in these pages as they passed through the press.

A. HARNACK

BERLIN, *Sept.* 4, 1902.

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The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries

BOOK I.

INTRODUCTORY.

CHAPTER I.

JUDAISM: ITS DIFFUSION AND LIMITS.

To nascent Christianity the synagogues in the Diaspora meant more than the *fontes persecutionum* of Tertullian's complaint; they also formed the most important presupposition for the rise and growth of Christian communities throughout the empire. The network of the synagogues furnished the Christian propaganda with centres and courses for its development, and in this way the mission of the new religion, which was undertaken in the name of the God of Abraham and Moses, found a sphere already prepared for itself.

A survey of the spread of Judaism at the opening of our period has been frequently presented, most recently and with especial care by Schürer (*Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, Bd. III.[3] pp. 1–38;

Eng. trans., II. ii. 220 f.). Here we are concerned with the following points:

(1) There were Jews in most of the Roman provinces, at any rate in all those which touched or adjoined the Mediterranean, to say nothing of the Black Sea; eastward also, beyond Syria, they were thickly massed in Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Media.[1]

(2) Their numbers were greatest in Syria,[2] next to

[1] Comprehensive evidence for the spread of Judaism throughout the empire lies in Philo (*Legat.* 36 and *Flacc.* 7), Acts (ii. 9 f.), and Josephus (*Bell.*, ii. 16. 4; vii. 3, 3; *Apion,* ii. 39). The statement of Josephus (οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δῆμος ὁ μὴ μοῖραν ἡμετέραν ἔχων: "there is no people in the world which does not contain some part of us") had been anticipated more than two centuries earlier by a Jewish Sibylline oracle (*Sib. orac.*, iii. 271: πᾶσα δὲ γαῖα σέθεν πλήρης καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα: "every land and sea is filled with thee"). By 139–138 B.C. a decree for the protection of Jews had been issued by the Roman Senate to the kings of Egypt, Syria, Pergamum, Cappadocia and Parthia, as well as to Sampsamê (Amisus?), Sparta, Sicyon (in the Peloponnese), Delos, Samos, the town of Gortyna, Caria and Myndus, Halicarnassus and Cnidus, Cos and Rhodes, the province of Lycia together with Phaselis, Pamphilia with Sidê, the Phœnician town Aradus, Cyrene and Cyprus. By the time of Sulla, Strabo had written thus (according to Josephus, *Antiq.*, xiv. 7. 2): εἰς πᾶσαν πόλιν ἤδη παρεληλύθει, καὶ τόπον οὐκ ἔστι ῥᾳδίως εὑρεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης ὃς οὐ παραδέδεκται τοῦτο τὸ φῦλον μηδ' ἐπικρατεῖται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ("They have now got into every city, and it is hard to find a spot on earth which has not admitted this tribe and come under their control"). For the intensive spread of Judaism, Seneca's testimony (cited by Augustine, *de civit. dei,* vi. 11) is particularly instructive: cum interim usque eo sceleratissimae gentis consuetudo valuit, ut per omnes iam terras recepta sit; victi victoribus leges dederunt ("Meantime the customs of this most accursed race have prevailed to such an extent that they are everywhere received. The conquered have imposed their laws on the conquerors").

[2] The large number of Jews in Antioch is particularly striking.

that in Egypt (in all the nomes as far as Upper Egypt), Rome, and the provinces of Asia Minor.[1] The extent to which they had made their way into all the local conditions is made particularly clear by the evidence bearing on the sphere last-named, where, as on the north coast of the Black Sea, Judaism also played some part in the blending of religions (*e.g.*, the cult of "The most high God," and of the God called "Sabbatistes"). The same holds true of Syria, though the evidence here is not taken so plainly from direct testimony, but drawn indirectly

[1] Philo, *Legat.* 33: Ἰουδαῖοι καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν εἰσὶ παμπληθεῖς Ἀσίας τε καὶ Συρίας ("The Jews abound in every city of Asia and Syria"). The word "every" (ἑκάστην) is confirmed by a number of special testimonies, *e.g.* for Cilicia by Epiphanius (*Hær.*, xxx. 11), who says of the "apostle" sent by the Jewish patriarch to collect the Jewish taxes in Cilicia: ὃς ἀνελθὼν ἐκεῖσε ἀπὸ ἑκάστης πόλεως τῆς Κιλικίας τὰ ἐπιδέκατα κτλ εἰσέπραττεν ("On his arrival there he proceeded to lift the tithes, etc., from every city in Cilicia"). On the spread of Judaism in Phrygia and the adjoining provinces (even into the districts of the interior), see Ramsay's two great works, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,* and *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor,* along with his essay in the *Expositor* (January 1902) on "The Jews in the Græco-Asiatic cities." Wherever any considerable number of inscriptions are found in these regions, some of them are always Jewish. The rôle played by the Jewish element in Pisidian Antioch is shown by Acts xiii., see especially verses 44 and 50 (οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι παρώτρυναν τὰς σεβομένας γυναῖκας τὰς εὐσχήμονας καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῆς πόλεως). And the significance of the Jewish element in Smyrna comes out conspicuously in the martyrdom of Polycarp and of Pionius; on the day of a Jewish festival the appearance of the streets was quite changed. "The diffusion and importance of the Jews in Asia Minor are attested among other things by the attempt made during the reign of Augustus, by the Ionian cities, apparently after joint counsel, to compel their Jewish fellow-townsmen to abandon their faith or else to assume the full burdens of citizenship" (Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*, v. pp. 489 f., Eng. trans. *Provinces,* ii. 163).

from the historical presuppositions of Christian gnosticism. In Africa, along the coast-line, from the proconsular province to Mauretania, Jews were numerous.[1] At Lyons, in the time of Irenæus,[2] they do not seem to have abounded; but in southern Gaul, as later sources indicate, their numbers cannot have been small, whilst in Spain, as is obvious from the resolutions of the synod of Elvira (*c.* 300 A.D.), they were both populous and powerful. Finally, we may assume that in Italy—apart from Rome and Southern Italy, where they were widely spread—they were not exactly numerous under the early empire, although even in Upper Italy at that period individual synagogues were in existence. This feature was due to the history of Italian civilization, and it is corroborated by the fact that, beyond Rome and Southern Italy, early Jewish inscriptions are scanty and uncertain.

(3) The exact number of Jews in the Diaspora can only be calculated roughly. Our information with regard to figures is as follows. Speaking of the Jews in Babylonia, Josephus declares there were "not a few myriads," or "innumerable myriads" in that region.[3] At Damascus, during the great war, he narrates (*Bell. Jud.*, ii. 20. 2) how ten thousand Jews were massacred; elsewhere in the same book (vii. 8. 7) he

[1] See Monceaux, "les colonies juives dans l'Afrique romaine" (*Rev. des Études juives*, 1902). We have evidence for Jewish communities at Carthage, Naro, Hadrumetum, Utica, Hippo, Simittu, Volubilis, Cirta, Auzia, Sitifis, Cæsarea, Tipasa, and Oea.

[2] To all appearance, therefore, he knew no Jewish Christians at first hand.

[3] *Antiq.*, xv. 3. 1, xi. 5. 2. According to *Antiq.*, xii. 3. 4, Antiochus the Great deported 2000 families of Babylonian Jews to Phrygia and Lydia.

writes "eighteen thousand." Of the five civic quarters of Alexandria, two were called "the Jewish" (according to Philo, *In Flacc.* 8), since they were mainly inhabited by Jews; in the other quarters Jews were also to be met with, and Philo (*In Flacc.* 6) reckons their total number in Egypt (as far as the borders of Ethiopia) to have been at least 100 myriads (= a million). In the time of Sulla the Jews of Cyrene, according to Strabo (cited by Josephus, *Antiq.*, xiv. 7. 2), formed one of the four classes into which the population was divided, the others being citizens, peasants, and resident aliens. During the great rebellion in Trajan's reign they are said to have slaughtered 220,000 unbelievers in Cyrene (*Dio Cassius*, lxviii. 32), in revenge for which "many myriads" of their own number were put to death by Marcus Turbo (Euseb., *H.E.*, iv. 2). The Jewish revolt spread also to Cyprus, where 240,000 Gentiles are said to have been murdered by them.[1] As for the number of Jews in Rome, we have these two statements: first, that in B.C. 4 a Jewish embassy from Palestine to the metropolis was joined by 8000 local Jews (Joseph., *Antiq.*, xvii. 2. 1; *Bell.*, ii. 6. 1); and secondly, that in 19 A.D., when Tiberius banished the whole Jewish community from Rome, 4000 able-bodied Jews were deported to Sardinia. The latter statement merits especial attention, as it is handed down by Tacitus as well as Josephus.[2] After the

[1] Dio Cassius (*loc. cit.*). The same author declares (lxix. 14) that 580,000 Jews perished in Palestine during the rebellion of Barcochba.

[2] There is a discrepancy between them. Whilst Josephus (*Antiq.*, xviii. 3. 5) mentions only Jews, Tacitus (*Annal.*, ii. 85) writes: "Actum et de sacris Aegyptiis Judaicisque pellendis factumque

fall of Sejanus, when Tiberius revoked the edict (Philo, *Legat.* 24), the Jews at once made up their former numbers in Rome (*Dio Cassius*, lx. 6, πλεονάσαντες αὖθις); the movement for their expulsion reappeared under Claudius in 49 A.D., but the enforcement of the order looked to be so risky that it was presently withdrawn and limited to a prohibition of religious gatherings.[1] In Rome the Jews dwelt

patrum consultum, ut quattuor milia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, quis idonea aetas, in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrociniis et, si ob gravitatem caeli interissent, vile damnum; ceteri cederent Italia, nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent" ("Measures were also adopted for the extermination of Egyptian and Jewish rites, and the Senate passed a decree that four thousand freedmen, able-bodied, who were tainted with that superstition, should be deported to the island of Sardinia to put a check upon the local brigands. Should the climate kill them 'twould be no great loss! As for the rest, they were to leave Italy unless they abjured their profane rites by a given day"). The expulsion is also described by Suetonius (*Tiber.* 36): "Externas caeremonias, Aegyptios Judaicosque ritus compescuit, coactis qui superstitione ea tenebantur religiosas vestes cum instrumento omni comburere. Judaeorum juventutem per speciem sacramenti in provincias gravioris caeli distribuit, reliquos gentis eiusdem vel similia sectantes urbe summovit, sub poena perpetuae servitutis nisi obtemperassent" ("Foreign religions, including the rites of Egyptians and Jews, he suppressed, forcing those who practised that superstition to burn their sacred vestments and all their utensils. He scattered the Jewish youth in provinces of an unhealthy climate, on the pretext of military service, whilst the rest of that race or of those who shared their practices were expelled from Rome, the penalty for disobedience being penal servitude for life").

[1] The sources here are contradictory. Acts (xviii. 2), Suetonius (*Claud.* 25), and Orosius (vii. 6. 15)—the last named appealing by mistake to Josephus, who says nothing about the incident—all speak of a formal (and enforced) edict of expulsion, but Dio Cassius (lx. 6) writes: τούς τε Ἰουδαίους πλεονάσαντας αὖθις, ὥστε χαλεπῶς ἂν ἄνευ ταραχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου σφῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰρχθῆναι, οὐκ ἐξήλασε μέν,

chiefly in Trastevere; but as Jewish churchyards have been discovered in various parts of the city, they were also to be met with in other quarters as well.

A glance at these numerical statements shows[1] that only two possess any significance. The first is Philo's, that the Egyptian Jews amounted to quite a million. Philo's comparatively precise mode of expression (*οὐκ ἀποδέουσι μυριάδων ἑκατὸν οἱ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἰουδαῖοι κατοικοῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Λιβύην καταβαθμοῦ μέχρι τῶν ὁρίων Αἰθιοπίας*: "The Jews resident in Alexandria and in the country from the descent to Libya back to the bounds of Ethiopia, do not fall short of a million"), taken together with the fact that registers for the purpose of taxation were accurately kept in Egypt, renders it probable that we have here to do with no fanciful number. Nor does the figure itself appear too high, when we consider that it includes the whole Jewish population of Alexandria. As the entire population of Egypt (under Vespasian) amounted to seven or eight millions, the Jews thus turn out to have

τῷ δὲ δὴ πατρίῳ βίῳ χρωμένους ἐκέλευσε μὴ συναθροίζεσθαι ("As the Jews had once more multiplied, so that it would have been difficult to remove them without a popular riot, he did not expel them, but simply prohibited any gatherings of those who held to their ancestral customs"). We have no business, in my opinion, to use Dio Cassius in order to set aside two such excellent witnesses as Luke and Suetonius. Nor is it a satisfactory expedient to suppose, with Schürer (III. p. 32; *cf.* Eng. trans., II. ii. 237), that the government simply intended to expel the Jews. The edict must have been actually issued, although it was presently replaced by a prohibition of meetings, after the Jews had given a guarantee of good behaviour.

[1] I omit a series of figures given elsewhere by Josephus; they are not of the slightest use.

formed a seventh or an eighth of the whole (somewhere about thirteen per cent.).[1] Syria is the only province of the empire where we must assume a higher percentage of Jews among the population;[2] in all the other provinces their numbers were smaller.

The second passage of importance is the statement that Tiberius deported four thousand able-bodied Jews to Sardinia—Jews, be it noted, not (as Tacitus declares) Egyptians and Jews, for the distinct evidence of Josephus on this point is corroborated by that of Suetonius (see above), who, after speaking at first of Jews and Egyptians, adds, by way of

[1] See Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*, v. p. 578 [Eng. trans., "Provinces of the Roman Empire," ii. p. 258], and Pietschmann in Pauly-Wissowa's *Encyklop.*, i., col. 990 f. Beloch (*Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, pp. 258 f.) questions the reckoning of Josephus (*Bell.*, ii. 16. 4) that the population of Egypt under Nero amounted to seven and a half millions. He will not allow more than about five, though he adduces no conclusive argument against Josephus. Still, as he also holds it an exaggeration to say, with Philo, that the Jews in Egypt were a million strong, he is not opposed to the hypothesis that Judaism in Egypt amounted to about 13 per cent. of the total population. Beloch reckons the population of Alexandria (including slaves) at about half a million. Of these, 200,000 would be Jews, as the Alexandrian Jews numbered about two-fifths of the whole.

[2] Josephus, *Bell.*, vii. 3. 3: (Τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος πολὺ μὲν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην παρέσπαρται τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις, πλεῖστον δὲ τῇ Συρίᾳ: "The Jewish race is thickly spread over the world among its inhabitants, but specially in Syria"). Beloch (pp. 242 f., 507) estimates the population of Syria under Augustus at about six millions, under Nero at about seven, whilst the free inhabitants of Antioch under Augustus numbered close on 300,000. As the percentage of Jews in Syria (and especially in Antioch) was larger than in Egypt (about 13 per cent.), certainly over a million Jews must be assumed for Syria under Nero.

closer definition, "Judaeorum juventatem per speciem sacramenti in provincias gravioris caeli distribuit." Four thousand able-bodied men answers to a total of at least ten thousand human beings,[1] and something like this represented the size of the contemporary Jewish community at Rome. Now, of course, this reckoning agrees but poorly with the other piece of information, viz., that twenty-three years earlier a Palestinian deputation had its ranks swelled by 8000 Roman Jews. Either Josephus has inserted the total number of Jews in this passage, or he is guilty of serious exaggeration. The most reliable estimate of the Roman population under Augustus (in B.C. 5) gives 320,000 male plebeians over ten years of age. As women were notoriously in a minority at Rome, this number represents about 600,000 inhabitants (excluding slaves),[2] so that about 10,000 Jews would be equivalent to about one-sixtieth of the population.[3] Tiberius could still risk the strong measure of expelling them; but when Claudius tried to repeat the experiment thirty years later, he was unable to carry it out.

We can hardly suppose that the Jewish community at Rome continued to show any considerable increase after the great rebellions and wars under

[1] Taking for granted, as in the case of any immigrant population, that the number of men is very considerably larger than that of women, I allow 2000 boys and old men to 4000 able-bodied men, and assume about 4000 females.

[2] See Beloch, pp. 292 f. His figure, 500,000, seems to me rather low.

[3] The total number, including foreigners and slaves, would amount to something between 800,000 and 900,000 (according to Beloch, 800,000 at the outside).

Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, and Hadrian, since the decimation of the Jews in many provinces of the empire must have re-acted upon the Jewish community in the capital. Details on this point, however, are awanting.

If the Jews in Egypt amounted to about a million, those in Syria were still more numerous. Allowing about 700,000 Jews to Palestine— and at this moment between 600,000 and 650,000 people live there; see Baedeker's *Palestine*, 1900, p. lvii.—we are within the mark at all events when we reckon the Jews in the remaining districts of the empire (*i.e.*, in Asia Minor, Greece, Cyrene, Rome, Italy, Gaul, Spain, etc.) at about one million and a half. In this way a grand total of about four or four and a half million Jews is reached. Now, it is an extremely surprising thing, a thing that seems at first to throw doubt upon any estimate whatsoever of the population, to say that while (according to Beloch) the population of the whole Roman empire under Augustus is reported to have amounted to nearly fifty-four millions, the Jews in the empire at that period must be reckoned at not less than four or four and a half millions. Even if one raises Beloch's figure to sixty millions, how can the Jews have represented seven per cent. of the total population? Either our calculation is wrong—and mistakes are almost inevitable in a matter like this—or the propaganda of Judaism was extremely successful in the provinces; for it is utterly impossible to explain the large total of Jews in the Diaspora by the mere fact of the fertility of Jewish families. We must assume, I imagine, that a very large number of pagans, and in particular of kindred Semites of the

lower class, trooped over to the religion of Yahweh[1] —for the Jews of the Diaspora were genuine Jews only to a certain extent. Well now, if Judaism was actually so vigorous throughout the empire as to embrace about seven per cent. of the total population under Augustus, one begins to realize its great influence and social importance. And in order to comprehend the propaganda and diffusion of Christianity, it is quite essential to understand that the religion under whose "shadow" it made its way out into the world, not merely contained elements of vital significance but had expanded till it embraced a considerable proportion of the world's population.

Our survey would not be complete if we did not glance, however briefly, at the nature of the Jewish propaganda in the empire,[2] for some part, at least, of her missionary zeal was inherited by Christianity from Judaism. As I shall have to refer to this Jewish mission wherever any means employed in the Christian propaganda are taken over from Judaism, I shall confine myself in the meantime to some general observations.

It is surprising that a religion which raised so stout a wall of partition between itself and all other religions, and which in practice and prospects alike was bound up so closely with its nation, should have possessed a missionary impulse of such vigour and

[1] After the edict of Pius, which forbade in the most stringent terms the circumcision of any who had not been born in Judaism (*cf.* also the previous edict of Hadrian), regular secessions must have either ceased altogether or occurred extremely seldom; *cf.* Orig., *c. Cels.*, II. xiii.

[2] Compare, on this point, Schürer's description, *op. cit.* III.[(3)], pp. 102 f. [Eng. trans., II. ii. 126 f.].

attained so large a measure of success. This is not ultimately to be explained by any craving for power or ambition; it is a proof that *Judaism, as a religion, was already blossoming out by some inward transformation.* Proudly the Jew felt that he had something to say and bring to the world, which concerned all men, viz., *The one and only spiritual God, creator of heaven and earth, with his holy moral law.* It was owing to the consciousness of this (Rom. ii. 19 f.) that he felt missions to be a duty. *The Jewish propaganda throughout the empire was primarily the proclamation of the one and only God, of his moral law, and of his judgment;* to this everything else became secondary. The object in many cases might be pure proselytism (Matt. xxiii. 15), but Judaism was quite in earnest in overthrowing dumb idols and inducing pagans to recognize their creator and judge, for in this the honour of the God of Israel was concerned.

It is in this light that one has to pass judgment upon a phenomenon which is misunderstood so long as we explain it by means of specious analogies—I mean, the different degrees and phases of proselytism. In other religions, variations of this kind usually proceed from an endeavour to render the *moral* precepts imposed by the religion somewhat easier for the proselyte. In Judaism this tendency never prevailed, at least never outright. On the contrary, the *moral* demand remained unlowered. *As the recognition of God was considered the cardinal point*, it was imperative that the claims of the cultus and of ceremonies should be depreciated, and the different kinds of Jewish proselytism were almost

entirely due to the different degrees in which the ceremonial precepts of the law were observed. The noble generosity of this attitude was, of course, rendered all the easier by the fact that, strictly speaking, even Jews by birth were only proselytes so soon as they left the soil of Palestine, since thereby they parted with the sacrificial system; besides, they were unable in a foreign country to fulfil, or at least to fulfil satisfactorily, many other precepts of the law. For generations there had been a gradual neutralising of the sacrificial system proceeding apace within the inner life of Judaism—even among the Pharisees; and this coincided with an historical situation which obliged by far the greater number of the adherents of the religion to live amid conditions which had made them strangers for a long period to the sacrificial system. In this way they were also rendered accessible on every side of their spiritual nature to foreign cults and philosophies, and thus there originated Persian and Græco-Jewish religious alloys, several of whose phenomena threatened even the monotheistic belief. The destruction of the temple by the Romans really destroyed nothing; it may be viewed as an incident organic to the history of Jewish religion. When pious people held God's ways at that crisis were incomprehensible, they were but deluding themselves.

For a long while the popular opinion throughout the empire was that the Jews worshipped God without images, and that they had no temple. Now, although both of these features might appear to the rude populace even more offensive and despicable than circumcision, Sabbath observance, the prohibi-

tion of swine's flesh, etc., nevertheless they made a deep impression upon educated people. Thanks to these traits, together with its monotheism, Judaism seemed as if it were elevated to the rank of *philosophy*, and inasmuch as it still continued to be a religion, it exhibited a type of mental and spiritual life which was superior to anything of the kind. At bottom, there was nothing artificial in a Philo or in a Josephus exhibiting Judaism as the *philosophic* religion, for this kind of apologetic corresponded to the actual situation in which they found themselves; it was as the philosophic religion, equipped at the same time with "the oldest book in the world," that Judaism developed her great propaganda. The account given by Josephus (*Bell.*, vii. 3. 3) of the situation at Antioch, viz., that "the Jews continued to attract a large number of the Greeks to their services, making them in a sense part of themselves"—this holds true of the Jewish mission in general. The adhesion of Greeks and Romans to Judaism ranged over the entire gamut of possible degrees, from the superstitious adoption of certain rites up to complete identification. "God-fearing" pagans constituted the majority, proselytes (*i.e.*, people who were actually Jews, obliged to keep the whole law) being certainly few in number.[1] Immersion was more indispensable than even circumcision as a condition of entrance.

While all this was of the utmost importance for the Christian mission which came afterwards, at least equal moment attaches to one vital omission in the

[1] *See* Eus., *H.E.*, i. 7, for the extent to which proselytes became fused among those who were Jews by birth.

Jewish missionary preaching: viz., that no Gentile, in the first generation at least, could become a real son of Abraham. His rank before God remained inferior. Thus it also remained very doubtful how far any proselyte—to say nothing of the "God-fearing"—had a share in the glorious promises of the future. The religion which will repair this omission will drive Judaism from the field.[1] When it proclaims this message in its fulness, that the last will be first, declaring that freedom from the Law is the normal and higher life, and that the observance of the Law, even at its best, is a thing to be tolerated and no more, it will win thousands where the previous missionary preaching won but hundreds.[2] Yet the propaganda of Judaism did not succeed simply by its high inward worth; the profession of Judaism also conferred great social and political advantages upon its adherents. Compare Schürer's sketch (*op. cit.*, III.(3) pp. 56–90; Eng. trans., II. ii. 243 f.) of the internal organization of Jewish communities in the Diaspora, of their civil position, and of their civic "isopolity,"[3]

[1] I know of no reliable inquiries into the decline and fall of Jewish missions in the empire after the second destruction of the temple. It seems to me unquestionable that Judaism henceforth slackened her tie with Hellenism, in order to drop it altogether as time went on, and that the literature of Hellenistic Judaism suddenly became very slender, destined ere long to disappear entirely. But whether we are to see in all this merely the inner stiffening of Judaism, or other causes to boot (*e.g.*, the growing rivalry of Christianity), is a question which I do not venture to decide.

[2] A very striking parallel from history to the preaching of Paul in its relation to Jewish preaching, is to be found in Luther's declaration, that the truly perfect man was not a monk, but a Christian living in his daily calling.

[3] The Jewish communities in the Diaspora also formed small

and it will be seen how advantageous it was to belong to a Jewish community within the Roman empire. No doubt there were circumstances under which a Jew had to endure ridicule and disdain, but this injustice was compensated by the ample privileges enjoyed by those who adhered to this *religio licita*. If in addition one possessed the freedom of a city (which it was not difficult to procure) or even Roman citizenship, one occupied a more secure and favourable position than the majority of one's fellow-citizens. No wonder, then, that Christians threatened to apostatize to Judaism during a persecution,[1] or that separation from the synagogues had also serious economic consequences for Jews who had become Christians.[2]

One thing further. All religions which made their way into the empire along the channels of intercourse and trade were primarily religions of the city, and

states inside the state or city; one has only to recollect the civil jurisdiction which they exercised, even to the extent of criminal procedure. As late as the third century we possess, with reference to Palestine, Origen's account (*ep. ad Afric.*, xiv.) of the power of the Ethnarch (or patriarch), which was so great "that he differed in no whit from royalty"; "legal proceedings also took place privately as enjoined by the Law, and several people were condemned to death, not in open court and yet with the cognizance of the authorities." Similar occurrences would take place in the Diaspora.

[1] Proofs of this are not forthcoming, however, in any number.

[2] Owing to their religious and national characteristics, as well as to the fact that they enjoyed legal recognition throughout the empire, the Jews stood out conspicuously from amongst all the other nations included in the Roman state. This comes out most forcibly in the fact that they were even entitled "The Second race." We shall afterwards show that Christians were called the Third race, since Jews already ranked thus as the Second.

remained such for a considerable period. It cannot be said that Judaism in the Diaspora was entirely a city-religion; indeed the reverse holds true of one or two large provinces. Yet in the main it continued to be a city-religion, and we hear little about Jews who were settled on the land.

So long as the temple stood, and contributions were paid in to it, this formed a link between the Jews of the Diaspora and Palestine. Afterwards, a rabbinical board took the place of the priestly college at Jerusalem, which understood how still to raise and use these contributions. The board was presided over by the patriarch, and the contributions were gathered by "apostles" whom he sent out.[1] They appear also to have had additional duties to perform (on which see below).

The extent to which Judaism was prepared for the gospel may also be judged by means of the syncretism into which it had developed. The development was along no mere side-issues. The transformation of a national into a universal religion may take place in two ways; either by the national religion being reduced to great central principles, or by its assimilation of a wealth of new elements from other religions. Both processes developed simultaneously in Judaism, as we have still to show. But the former is the more important of the two, as a preparation for Christianity. This is to be inferred especially from that great scene

[1] On the patriarch, see Schürer, III.[3], pp. 77 f. [Eng. trans., II. ii. 270]. From Vopisc. *Saturn.* 8 we know that the patriarch himself went also in person to the Diaspora, so far as Egypt is concerned. On the "apostles," see Book III. ch. i. (2).

preserved for us in Mark xii. 28–34—in its simplicity of spirit, the greatest memorial we possess of the history of religion at the epoch of its vital change.[1] "A scribe asked Jesus, What is the first of all the commandments? Jesus replied, The first is: Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God, and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and all thy soul, and all thy mind, and all thy strength. The second is: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is no commandment greater than these. And the scribe said to him, True, O teacher; thou hast rightly said that he is one, and that beside him there is none else, and that to love him with all the heart, and all the understanding, and all the strength, and to love one's neighbour as oneself, is far above all holocausts and sacrifices. And when Jesus saw that he answered intelligently, he said: Thou art not far from the kingdom of God."

[1] The nearest approach to it is to be found in the missionary speech put into Paul's mouth on the hill of Mars.

CHAPTER II.

THE EXTERNAL CONDITIONS OF THE WORLD-WIDE EXPANSION OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

It is only in a series of headings, as it were, that I would summarize the external conditions which either made it possible for Christianity to spread rapidly and widely during the imperial age, or actually promoted its advance. One of the most important has been mentioned in the previous chapter, viz., the spread of Judaism, which anticipated and prepared the way for that of Christianity. Besides this, the following considerations are especially to be noted:—

(1) The *Hellenizing* of the East and (in part also) of the West, which had gone on steadily since Alexander the Great: or, *the comparative unity of language and ideas* which this Hellenizing had produced. Not until the close of the second century A.D. does this Hellenizing process appear to have exhausted itself,[1] while in the fourth century, when the

[1] I do not know any investigations as to the precise period when the advance of Hellenism, more particularly of the Greek language, subsided and ceased at Rome and throughout the West. From my limited knowledge of the subject, I should incline to make the close of the second century the limit. Marcus Aurelius still wrote his confessions in Greek, but no subsequent fact of a similar bearing can be discovered. In the West, Greek was checked by the

seat of the empire was shifted to the East, the movement acquired a still further impetus in several important directions. As Christianity allied itself very quickly though not absolutely to the speech and spirit of Hellenism, it was in a position to avail itself of a great deal in the success of the latter.

(2) *The world-empire of Rome* and *the political unity* which it secured for the nations bordering on the Mediterranean: the comparative unity secured by this world-state for the methods and conditions of outward existence, and also the comparative stability of social life. Throughout many provinces of the East, people felt the emperor really stood for peace, and they hailed his law as a shelter and a safeguard.[1] Furthermore, the earthly monarchy of

deterioration of culture as well as by the circumstances of the situation. During the third century Rome began to shed off Greek, and in the course of the fourth century she became once more a purely Latin city. Similarly too with the Western provinces, so far as they had assimilated the Greek element; similarly even with Southern Italy and Gaul, though the process took longer in these regions. During the second century people could still make themselves understood apparently by means of Greek, in any of the larger Western cities; by the third century, a stranger who did not know Latin was sometimes in difficulties, though not often; by the fourth, no traveller in the West could dispense with Latin any longer, and it was only in Southern Gaul and Lower Italy that Greek sufficed.

[1] After Melito, Origen (*c. Celsum,* II. xxx.) correctly estimated the significance of this for the Christian propaganda. "In the days of Jesus, righteousness arose and fulness of peace; it began with his birth. God prepared the nations for his teaching, by causing the Roman emperor to rule over all the world; there was no longer to be a plurality of kingdoms, else would the nations have been strangers to one another, and so the apostles would have found it harder to carry out the task laid on them by Jesus, when he said, 'Go and teach all nations.' It is well known that the

the world was a fact which at once favoured the conception of the heavenly monarchy and conditioned the origin of *a catholic or universal church.*

(3) The exceptional facilities, growth, and security of *international traffic*:[1] the admirable roads; the blending of different nationalities;[2] the interchange of wares and of ideas; the personal intercourse; the ubiquitous merchant and soldier—one may add, the ubiquitous professor, who was to be encountered from Antioch to Cadiz, from Alexandria to Bordeaux. The church thus found the way paved for expansion; the means were prepared; and the population of the large towns was as heterogeneous and devoid of a past as could be desired.

(4) The practical and theoretical conviction of *the essential unity of mankind*, and of human rights and duties, which was produced, or at any rate intensified, by the fact of the "orbis Romanus" on the one side

birth of Jesus took place in the reign of Augustus, who fused and federated the numerous peoples upon earth into a single empire. A plurality of kingdoms would have been an obstacle to the spread of the doctrine of Jesus throughout all the world, not merely for the reasons already mentioned, but also because the nations would in that event have been obliged to go to war in defence of their native lands. . . . How, then, could this doctrine of peace, which does not even permit vengeance upon an enemy, have prevailed throughout the world, had not the circumstances of the world passed everywhere into a milder phase at the advent of Jesus?"

[1] Cp. Stephan in Raumer's *Histor. Taschenbuch* (1868), pp. 1 f., and Zahn's *Weltverkehr und Kirche während der drei ersten Jahrhunderte* (1877). That one Phrygian merchant voyaged to Rome (according to the inscription on a tomb) no fewer than seventy-two times in the course of his life, is itself a fact which must never be lost sight of.

[2] It is surprising to notice this blending of nationalities, whenever any inscription bears a considerable number of names (soldiers, pages, martyrs, etc.), and at the same time mentions their origin.

and the development of philosophy upon the other, and confirmed by the truly enlightened system of Roman jurisprudence, particularly between Nerva and Alexander Severus. On all essential questions the church had no reason to oppose, but rather to assent to, Roman law, that grandest and most durable product of the empire.

(5) *The decomposition of ancient society into a democracy:* the gradual equalizing of the "cives Romani" and the provincials, of the Greeks and the barbarians; the comparative equalizing of classes in society; the elevation of the slave-class—in short, a soil prepared for the growth of new formations by the decomposition of the old.

(6) *The religious policy of Rome*, which furthered the interchange of religions by its toleration, hardly presenting any obstacles to their natural increase or transformation or decay, although it would not stand any practical expression of contempt for the ceremonial of the State-religion. The liberty guaranteed by Rome's religious policy on all other points was an ample compensation for the rough check imposed on the spread of Christianity by her vindication of the State-religion.

(7) *The existence of associations*, as well as of *municipal and provincial organizations.* In several respects the former had prepared the soil for the reception of Christianity, whilst in some cases they probably served as a shelter for it. The latter actually suggested the most important forms of organization in the church, and thus saved her the onerous task of first devising such forms and then requiring to commend them.

(8) *The irruption of the Syrian and Persian religions* into the empire, dating especially from the reign of Antoninus Pius. These had certain traits in common with Christianity, and although the spread of the church was at first handicapped by them, any such loss was amply made up for by the new religious cravings which they stirred within the minds of men—cravings which could not finally be satisfied apart from Christianity.

(9) *The decline of the exact sciences,* a phenomenon due to the democratic tendency of society and the simultaneous popularizing of knowledge, as well as to other unknown causes: also *the rising vogue of a philosophy of religion with a craving for some form of revelation.*

All these outward conditions (of which the two latter might have been previously included among the inward) brought about a great revolution in the whole of human existence under the empire, a revolution which must have been highly conducive to the spread of the Christian religion. The narrow world had become a wide world; the rent world had become a unity; the barbarian world had become Greek and Roman.[1]

[1] As Uhlhorn remarks very truly (*die christliche Liebesthätigkeit in der alten Kirche*, 1882, p. 37; Eng. trans., pp. 40–42): "From the time of the emperors onwards a new influence made itself felt, and unless we notice this influence, we cannot understand the first centuries of the early Christian church, we cannot understand its rapid extension and its relatively rapid triumph. . . . Had the stream of new life issuing from Christ encountered ancient life when the latter was still unbroken, it would have recoiled impotent from the shock. But ancient life had by this time begun to break up; its solid foundations had begun to weaken; and, besides, the Christian stream fell in with a previous

and cognate current of Jewish opinion. In the Roman empire there had already appeared a universalism foreign to the ancient world. Nationalities had been effaced. The idea of universal humanity had disengaged itself from that of nationality. The Stoics had passed the word that all men were equal, and had spoken of brotherhood as well as of the duties of man towards man. Hitherto despised, the lower classes had asserted their position. The treatment of slaves became milder. If Cato had compared them to cattle, Pliny sees in them his 'serving friends.' The position of the artizan improved, and freedmen worked their way up, for the guilds provided them not simply with a centre of social life, but also with the means of bettering their social position. Women, hitherto without any legal rights, received such in increasing numbers. Children were looked after. The distribution of grain, originally a political institution and nothing more, became a sort of poor-relief system, and we meet with a growing number of generous deeds, gifts, and endowments, which already exhibit a more humane spirit," etc.

CHAPTER III.

THE INTERNAL CONDITIONS DETERMINING THE WORLD-WIDE EXPANSION OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION —RELIGIOUS SYNCRETISM.

In subsequent sections of this book mention will be made of a series of the more important inner conditions which determined the universal spread of the Christian religion. It was by preaching to the poor, the burdened, and the outcast, by the preaching and practice of love, that Christianity turned the stony, sterile world into a fruitful field for the church. Where no other religion could sow and reap, this religion was enabled to scatter its seed and to secure a harvest.

The condition, however, which determined more than anything else the propaganda of the religion, lay in the general religious situation during the imperial age. It is impossible to attempt here to depict that situation, and unluckily we cannot refer to any standard work which does justice to such a colossal undertaking, for all the admirable studies and sketches (such as those of Tzschirner, Friedländer, Boissier, Réville and Wissowa) which we possess. This being so, we must content ourselves with throwing out a few hints along two main lines.

(1) As far down as the third century, the decisive point in the relationship between Christianity and paganism was really what confronts us at the very outset, viz., the opposition of monotheism and polytheism—of polytheism, too, in the shape of political religion. Here Christianity and paganism were absolutely opposed. The former burned what the latter adored, and the latter burned Christians as guilty of high treason. Christian apologists and martyrs were entirely right in ignoring every other topic when they opened their lips, and in reducing everything to this simple alternative.

Judaism shared with Christianity this attitude towards polytheism. But then, Judaism was a *national* religion, and its monotheism was widely tolerated simply because it was widely misunderstood. That a man had to become a Jew in order to be a monotheist, was utterly absurd; it degraded the creator of heaven and earth to the level of a national god. And if he was a national god, he was not alone. No doubt, up and down the empire there were whispers about the atheism of the Jews, thanks to their lack of images; but the reproach was never levelled in real earnest—or rather, opinion was in such a state of oscillation that the usual political result obtained: *in dubio pro reo.*

It was otherwise with Christianity. Here the polytheists could have no hesitation; deprived of any basis in a nation or a State, destitute alike of images and temples, Christianity was simple atheism. The contrast between polytheism and monotheism was in this field clear and keen. From the second century onwards, the conflict between these two forms of

religion was waged by Christianity and not by Judaism. The former was aggressive, while as a rule the latter had really ceased to fight at all—it devoted itself to capturing proselytes.

From the very outset it was no hopeless struggle. When Christianity came upon the scene, indeed, the polytheism of the State-religion was not yet eradicated, nor was it eradicated for some time to come;[1] but there were plenty of forces at hand which were already compassing its ruin. It had survived the critical epoch during which the republic had changed into a dual control and a monarchy; but as for the fresh swarm of religions which were invading and displacing it, polytheism could no more exorcise them with the magic wand of the imperial cultus than it could dissolve them under the rays of a protean cultus of the sun, which sought to bring everything within its sweep. Nevertheless polytheism would still have been destined to a long career, had it not been attacked secretly or openly by the forces of general knowledge, philosophy, and ethics; had it not also been saddled with arrears of mythology which excited ridicule and resentment. Statesmen, poets, and philosophers might disregard all this, since each of these groups devised some method of preserving their continuity with the past. But once the common people realized it, or were made to realize it, the conclusion they drew in such cases was ruthless. The onset against deities feathered and scaly, deities adulterous and loaded with vices, and on the other hand against idols of wood and stone, formed the

[1] Successful attempts to revive it were not awanting; see under (2) in this section.

most impressive and effective factor in Christian preaching for wide circles, circles which in all ranks of society down to the lowest classes (where indeed they were most numerous) had, owing to experience and circumstances, reached a point at which the burning denunciations of the abomination of idolatry could not but arrest them and bring them over to monotheism. The very position of polytheism as the State-religion was in favour of the Christian propaganda. Religion faced religion; but whilst the one was new and living, the other was old, nor could anyone tell exactly what had become of it. Was it merely equivalent to what was lawful in politics? or did it represent the vast, complicated mass of *religiones licitae* throughout the empire? Who could say?

(2) This, however, is to touch on merely one side of the matter. The religious situation in the imperial age, with the tendencies it cherished and the formations it produced—all this was complicated in the extreme. Weighty as were the simple antitheses of "monotheism *versus* polytheism" and "strict morality *versus* laxity and vice," these cannot be taken as a complete summary of the whole position. The posture of affairs throughout the empire is no more adequately described by the term "polytheism," than is Christianity, as it was then preached, by the bare term "monotheism." It was not a case of vice and virtue simply facing one another. Here, in fact, it is necessary for us to enter into some detail and definition.

Throughout the Greek and Roman world, after the close of the first century of our era, there was an

unmistakable resuscitation of the religious sense, which gradually took hold of all classes in society, and which appears to have increased with every decade subsequently to the middle of the second century. It made itself conspicuous in two ways, on the principle of that dual development in which a religious upheaval always manifests itself. The first was a series of not unsuccessful attempts to revivify and inculcate the old religions, by carefully observing traditional customs, and by restoring the sites of the oracles and the places of worship. Such attempts, however, were to some extent superficial and artificial. They afforded no strong or clear expression for the new religious cravings of the age. And Christianity held entirely aloof from all this restoration of religion. They came into contact merely to collide—this pair of alien magnitudes; neither understood the other, and each was driven to compass the extermination of its rival (see above).

The second way in which the resuscitation of religion came about, however, was far more potent. Ever since Alexander the Great and his successors, ever since Augustus in a later age, the nations upon whose development the advance of humanity depended, had been living under new auspices. The great revolution in the external conditions of their existence has been already emphasized; but corresponding to this, and partly in consequence of it, a revolution took place in the inner world of religion, which was due in some degree to the blending of religions, but pre-eminently to the progress of culture and to man's experience inward and outward. No period can be specified at which

this blending process commenced among the nations lying between Egypt and the Euphrates, the Tigris, or Persia;[1] for, so far as we are in a position to trace back their history, their religions were, like themselves, exposed to constant interchange, whilst their religious theories were a matter of give and take. But now the Greek world fell to be added, with all the store of knowledge and ideas which it had gained by dint of ardent, willing toil, a world lying open to any contribution from the East, and in its turn subjecting every element of Eastern origin to the test of its own lore and speculation.

The results already produced by the interchange of *Oriental* religions, including that of Israel, were scientifically described over a century ago as "the Oriental philosophy of religion," a term which denoted the broad complex of ritual and theory connected with the respective cults, their religious ideas, and also scientific speculations such as those of astronomy or of any other branch of knowledge which was elevated into the province of religion. All this was as indefinite as the title which was meant to comprehend it, nor even at present have we made any great progress in this field of research.[2] Still, we have a more definite grasp of the complex itself; and —although it seems paradoxical to say so—this is a result which we owe chiefly to Christian gnosticism.

[1] It is still a moot point of controversy whether India had any share in this, and if so to what extent; some connection with India, however, does seem probable.

[2] The origin of the separate elements, in particular, is frequently obscure—whether Indian, Persian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Asiatic, etc.

Nowhere else are these vague and various conceptions worked out for us so clearly and coherently.

In what follows I shall attempt to bring out the salient features of this "Orientalism." Naturally it was no rigid entity. At every facet it presented elements and ideas of the most varied hue. The general characteristic was this, that people still retained their belief in sections of the traditional mythology that were presented in realistic form. To these they did attach ideas. It is not possible, as a rule, to ascertain in every case at what point and to what extent such ideas overflowed and overpowered the realistic element in any given symbol—a fact which lends our knowledge of "Orientalism" an extremely defective appearance; for what is the use of fixing down a piece of mythology to some definite period and circle, if we cannot be sure of its exact value? Was it held literally? Was it transformed into an idea? Was it taken metaphorically? Was it the creed of unenlightened piety? Was it merely ornamental? And what was its meaning? Theological or cosmological? Ethical or historical? Did it embody some event in the remote past, or something still in existence, or something only to be realized in the future? Or did these various meanings and values flow in and out of one another? And was the myth in question felt to be some sacred, undefined magnitude, something that could unite with every conceivable coefficient, serving as the starting-point for any interpretation whatsoever that one chose to put before the world? This last question is to be answered, I think, in the affirmative, nor must we forget that in one and the same

circle the most diverse coefficients were simultaneously attached to any piece of mythology.

Further, we must not lose sight of the varied origin of the myths. The earliest spring from the primitive view of nature, in which the clouds were in conflict with the light and the night devoured the sun, whilst thunderstorms were the most awful revelation of the deity. Or they arose from the dream-world of the soul, from that separation of soul and body suggested by the dream, and from the cult of the human soul. The next stratum may have arisen out of ancient historical reminiscences, fantastically exaggerated and elevated into something supernatural. Then came the precipitate of primitive attempts at "science" which had gone no further, viz., observations of heaven and earth, leading to the knowledge of certain regular sequences, which were bound up with religious conceptions. All this the soul of man informed with life, endowing it with the powers of human consciousness. It was upon this stratum that the great Oriental religions rose, as we know them in history, with their special mythologies and ritual theories. Then came another stratum, namely, religion in its abstract development and alliance with a robust philosophic culture. One half of it was apologetic and the other critical. Yet even there myths still took shape. Finally, the last stratum was laid down, viz., the glaciation of ancient imaginative fancies and religions produced by a new conception of the universe, which the circumstances and experience of mankind had set in motion. Under the pressure of this, all existing materials were fused together, elements that lay far apart were solidified into a unity, and all previous

onstructions were shattered, while the surface of the movement was covered by broken fragments thrown out in a broad moraine, in which the débris of all earlier strata were to be found. This is the meaning of "syncretism." Viewed from a distance, it looks like a unity, though the unity seems heterogeneous. The forces which have shaped it do not meet the eye. What one really sees is the ancient element in its composition; the new lies buried under all that strikes the eye upon the surface.

This new element consisted in the results of practical experience, and in speculations of the inner life. Now it would appear that even before the period of its contact with the Greek spirit, "Orientalism" had reached this stage; but one of the most unfortunate gaps in our knowledge of the history of religion is our inability to determine to what extent "Orientalism" had developed on its own lines, independent of this Greek spirit. We must be content to ascertain what actually took place, viz., the rise of new ideas and emotions which meet us on the soil of Hellenism—that Hellenism which, with its philosophy and its development of the ancient mysteries, coalesced with Orientalism.[1] These new features are somewhat as follows:—

(1) There is *the sharp division between the soul* (or *spirit*) *and the body*: the more or less exclusive

[1] The convergence of these lines of development in the various nations of antiquity during the age of Hellenism is among the best established facts of history. Contemporary ideas of a cognate or similar nature were not simply the result of mutual interaction, but also of an independent development along parallel lines. This makes it difficult, and indeed impossible in many cases, to decide in which branch any given growth sprang up. The similarity of

importance attached to the spirit, and the notion that the spirit comes from some other, upper world and is either possessed or capable of life eternal: also the individualism involved in all this.

(2) There is *the sharp division between God and the world*, with the subversion of the naïve idea that they formed a homogeneous unity.

(3) In consequence of these distinctions we have *the sublimation of the Godhead*, "via negationis et eminentiae." The Godhead now becomes for the first time incomprehensible and indescribable; yet it is also great and good. Furthermore, it is the basis of all things; but the ultimate basis, which is simply posited yet cannot be actually grasped.

(4) As a further result of these distinctions and of the exclusive importance attached to the spirit, we have *the depreciation of the world*, the contention that it were better never to have existed, that it was the result of a blunder, and that it was a prison or at best a penitentiary for the spirit.

(5) There is the conviction that *the connection with the flesh* ("that soiled robe") *depreciated and stained the spirit*; in fact, that the latter would inevitably be ruined unless the connection were broken or its influence counteracted.

(6) There is *the yearning for redemption*, as a redemption from the world, the flesh, mortality, and *death*.

(7) There is the conviction that all redemption is

the development on parallel lines embraced not only the ideas, but frequently their very method of expression and the form under which they were conceived. The bounds of human fancy in this province are narrower than is commonly supposed.

redemption to life eternal, and that it is dependent on *knowledge and expiation*: that only the soul that knows (knows itself, the Godhead, and the nature and value of being) and is pure (*i.e.*, purged from sins), can be saved.

(8) There is *the certainty that the redemption of the soul as a return to God is effected through a series of stages*, just as the soul once upon a time departed from God by stages, till it ended in the present vale of tears. All instruction upon redemption is therefore instruction upon "the return and road" to God. The consummation of redemption is simply a graduated ascent.

(9) There is the belief (naturally a wavering belief) that *the anticipated redemption or redeemer was already present*, needing only to be sought out: present, that is, either in some ancient creed which simply required to be placed in a proper light, or in one of the mysteries which had only to be made more generally accessible, or in some personality whose power and commands had to be followed, or even in the spirit, if only it would turn inward on itself.

(10) There is the conviction that whilst knowledge is indispensable to *all the media of redemption*, it cannot be adequate; on the contrary, they *must ultimately furnish and transmit an actual power divine*. It is the "initiation" (the mystery or sacrament) which is combined with the impartation of knowledge, by which alone the spirit is subdued, by which it is actually redeemed and delivered from the bondage of mortality and sin by means of mystic rapture.

(11) There is the prevalent, indeed the funda-

mental, opinion that *knowledge of the universe, religion, and the strict management of the individual's conduct*, must form a compact unity; they must constitute an independent unity, which has nothing whatever to do with the State, society, the family, or one's daily calling, and must therefore maintain an attitude of *negation* (*i.e.*, in the sense of *asceticism*) towards all these spheres.

The soul, God, knowledge, expiation, asceticism, redemption, eternal life, with *individualism* and with *humanity* substituted for nationality—these were the sublime thoughts which were living and operative, partly as the precipitate of deep inward and outward movements, partly as the outcome of great souls and their toil, partly as one result of the sublimation of all cults which took place during the imperial age. Wherever vital religion existed, it was in this circle of thought and experience that it drew breath. The actual number of those who lived within the circle is a matter of no moment. "All men have not faith." And the history of religion, so far as it is really a history of vital religion, runs always in a very narrow groove.

The remarkable thing is the number of different guises in which such thoughts were circulating. Like all religious accounts of the universe which aim at reconciling monistic and dualistic theories, they required a large apparatus for their intrinsic needs; but the tendency was to elaborate this still further, partly in order to provide accommodation for whatever might be time-honoured or of any service, partly because isolated details had an appearance of weakness which made people hope to achieve their end by

dint of accumulation. Owing to the heterogeneous character of their apparatus, these syncretistic formations seem often to be totally incongrous. But this is a superficial estimate. A glance at their motives and aims reveals the presence of a unity, and indeed of a simplicity, which is truly remarkable. The final motives, in fact, are simple and powerful, inasmuch as they have sprung from simple but powerful experiences of the inner life, and it was due to them that the development of religion advanced, so far as any such advance took place apart from Christianity.

Christianity had to settle with this "syncretism" or final form of Hellenism. But we can see at once how inadequate it would be to describe the contrast between Christianity and "paganism" simply as the contrast between monotheism and polytheism. No doubt, any form of syncretism was perfectly capable of blending with polytheism; the one even demanded and could not but *intensify* the other. To explain the origin of the world and also to describe the soul's "return," the "apparatus" of the system required æons, intermediate beings, semi-gods, and deliverers; the highest deity was not the highest or most perfect, if it stood by itself. Yet all this way of thinking was monotheistic at bottom; it elevated the highest God to the position of primal God, high above all gods, linking the soul to this primal God and to him alone (not to any subordinate deities).[1] Polytheism was

[1] The difference between the Christian God and the God of syncretistic Hellenism is put by the pagan (Porphyry) in *Macarius Magnes.* iv. 20, with admirable lucidity: τὸ μέντοι περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πολυαρχίας τῶν σεβομένων θεῶν διαρρήδην ζητήσωμεν, ὧν οὐκ οἶδας οὐδὲ τῆς μοναρχίας τὸν λόγον ἀφηγήσασθαι. Μονάρχης γάρ ἐστὶν οὐχ ὁ μόνος ὢν ἀλλ' ὁ μόνος ἄρχων. ἄρχει δ' ὁμοφύλων δηλαδὴ

relegated to a lower level from the supremacy which once it had enjoyed. Further, as soon as Christianity itself began to be reflective, it took an interest in this "syncretism," borrowing ideas from it, and using them, in fact, to promote its own development. Christianity was not originally syncretistic itself, for Jesus Christ did not belong to this circle of ideas, and it was his disciples who were responsible for the primitive shaping of Christianity. But whenever Christianity came to formulate ideas of God, Jesus, sin, redemption, and life, it drew upon the materials

καὶ ὁμοίων, οἷον Ἀδριανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς μονάρχης γέγονεν, οὐχ ὅτι μόνος ἦν οὐδ' ὅτι βοῶν καὶ προβάτων ἦρχεν, ὧν ἄρχουσι ποιμένες ἢ βουκόλοι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀνθρώπων ἐβασίλευσε τῶν ὁμογενῶν τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν ἐχόντων. ὡσαύτως θεὸς οὐκ ἂν μονάρχης κυρίως ἐκλήθη, εἰ μὴ θεῶν ἦρχε. τοῦτο γὰρ ἔπρεπε τῷ θείῳ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ οὐρανίῳ καὶ πολλῷ ἀξιώματι ("Let us, however, proceed to inquire explicitly about the monarchy of the one God alone and the joint-rule of those deities who are worshipped, but of whom, as of divine monarchy, you cannot give any account. A monarch is not one who is alone but one who rules alone, ruling subjects of kindred nature like himself—such as the emperor Hadrian, for example, who was a monarch not because he stood alone or because he ruled sheep and cattle, which are commanded by shepherds and herdsmen, *but because he was king over human beings whose nature was like his own.* Even so, it would not have been accurate to term God a monarch, if he did not rule over gods. For such a position befitted the dignity of God and the high honour of heaven"). Here the contrast between the Christian and the Greek monarchianism is clearly defined. Only, it should be added that many philosophic Christians (even in the second century) did not share this severely monotheistic idea of God; in fact, as early as the first century we come across modifications of it. Tertullian (in *adv. Prax.* iii.), even in recapitulating the view of God which passed for orthodox at that period, comes dangerously near to Porphyry in the remark: "Nullam dico dominationem ita unius esse, ita singularem, ita monarchiam, ut non etiam per alias proximas personas administretur, quas ipsa prospexerit officiales sibi" ("No dominion, I hold, belongs to any one person in such a way, or is in

acquired in the general process of religious evolution, availing itself of all the forms which these had taken.

Christian preaching thus found itself confronted with the old polytheism and with this syncretism which represented the final stage of Hellenism. These constituted the inner conditions under which the young religion carried on its mission. From its opposition to polytheism it drew that power of antithesis and exclusiveness which is a force at once needed and intensified by any self-contained religion. In syncretism, again, *i.e.*, in all that as a rule deserved the title of "religion" in contemporary life, it possessed unconsciously a secret ally. All it had to do with syncretism was to cleanse and simplify it.

such a sense singular, or in such a sense a monarchy, as not also to be administered through other persons who are closely related to it, and with whom it has provided itself as its officials"). The school of Origen went still further in their reception of syncretistic monotheism, and the movement was not checked until the Nicene creed with its irrational doctrine of the Trinity, which ordered the Logos and the Spirit to be conceived as persons within the Godhead. But although the pagan monarchical idea was routed on this field, it had already entrenched itself in the doctrine of angels. The latter, as indeed Porphyry (iv. 20) observed, is thoroughly Hellenic, since it let in polytheism through a back-door. In iv. 23 Porphyry tries to show Christians that as their scriptures taught a plurality of gods, they consequently contained the conception of God's monarchy which the Greeks taught. He refers to Exod. xxii. 28, Jerem. vii. 6, Deut. xii. 30, Josh. xxiv. 14, 1 Cor. viii. 5, and then proceeds: "Therefore ye are greatly mistaken if ye believe God is angry when some one else is called God and receives the name of God; rulers do not grudge to their servants, nor masters to their slaves, the use of the same names, and we must not believe that God is any less magnanimous than men."

CHAPTER IV.

JESUS CHRIST AND THE UNIVERSAL MISSION, ACCORDING TO THE GOSPELS.

If we leave out of account the words put by our first evangelist into the lips of the risen Jesus (Matt. xxviii. 19 f.), with the similar expressions which occur in the unauthentic appendix to the second gospel (Mark xvi. 15, 20), and if we further set aside the story of the wise men from the East, as well as one or two Old Testament quotations which our first evangelist has woven into his tale (cp. Matt. iv. 13 f., xii. 18), we cannot but admit that Mark and Matthew have almost consistently withstood the temptation to introduce the Gentile mission into the words and deeds of Jesus. Jesus called sinners to himself, ate with tax-gatherers, attacked the Pharisees and their legal observance, made everything revolve round mercy and justice, and predicted the downfall of the temple — such is the universalism of Mark and Matthew. The very choice and commission of the twelve is described without any reference to the mission to the world (Mark iii. 13 f., vi. 7 f., and Matt. x. 1 f.). In fact, Matthew expressly limits their mission to Palestine. "Go not on the road of the Gentiles, and enter no city of the Samaritans; rather

go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. x. 5, 6). And so in x. 23: "Ye shall not have covered the cities of Israel, before the Son of man comes."[1] The story of the Syro-Phœnician woman is almost of greater significance. Neither evangelist leaves it open to question that this incident represented *an exceptional case* for Jesus;[2] and the exception proves the rule.

In Mark this section on the Syro-Phœnician woman is the only passage where the missionary efforts of Jesus appear positively restricted to the Jewish people in Palestine. Matthew, however, contains not merely the address on the disciples' mission, but a further saying (xix. 28), to the effect that the twelve are one day to judge the twelve tribes of Israel. No word here of the Gentile mission.[3]

[1] This verse precludes the hypothesis that the speech of Jesus referred merely to a provisional mission. If the saying is genuine (of which I have no doubt), the Gentile mission cannot have lain within the horizon of Jesus.—There is no need to take the ἡγεμόνες and βασιλεῖς of Matt. x. 18, Mark xiii. 9 as pagans, and Matthew's addition (omitted by Mark) of καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν to the words εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς can hardly be understood except as a supplement in the sense of xxviii. 19 f. Though Mark (vi. 7 f.; cp. Luke ix. 1 f.) omits the limitation of the mission to Palestine and the Jewish people, he does not venture to assign the mission any universal scope.

[2] According to Matthew (xv. 24), Jesus distinctly says, "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." The πρῶτον of Mark vii. 27 is not to be pressed.

[3] Here we may also include the saying: "Pray that your flight occur not on the Sabbath" (Matt. xxiv. 20). Note further that the parable of the two sons (Matt. xxi. 28 f.) does *not* refer to Jews and Gentiles. The labourers in the vineyard (Matt. xx. 1 f.) are not to be taken as Gentiles—not, at any rate, as the evangelist tells the story. Nor are Gentiles to be thought of even in xxii. 9.

Only twice does Mark make Jesus allude to the gospel being preached in future throughout the world: in the eschatological address (xiii. 10, "The gospel must first be preached to all the nations," *i.e.*, before the end arrives), and in the story of the anointing at Bethany (xiv. 9), where we read: "Wherever this[1] gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, what this woman hath done shall be also told, in memory of her." The former passage puts into the life of Jesus an historical theologoumenon, which hardly came from him in its present wording, although it probably originated in one of his prophetic sayings. The latter passage says nothing about the preaching of the gospel throughout the world; it alludes to the preaching of *this* gospel, and in this form the saying simply represents a remark which readily acquired a heightened colour from the fact of the subsequent mission to the world. It marks an excusable *hysteron proteron* in the evangelic tradition.[2]

[1] Even in the Marcan text I am disposed to retain the τοῦτο (with ACW^{b}, many other majuscule MSS., several codices of the Itala, Vulg. Sah. Copt. Syr. [not Syr^{sin}], Goth. Arm. Æthiop., as against ℵBDL and several codices of the Itala); apparently superfluous, it was struck out at an early period.

[2] I do not take into account the section on the wicked husbandmen, as it says nothing about the Gentile mission either in Mark's version (xii. 1 f.), or in Matthew's (xxi. 33 f.). The words of Matt. xxi. 43 ("God's kingdom shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof") do not refer to the Gentiles; it is the "nation" as opposed to the official Israel. Mark *on purpose* speaks merely of "others," to whom the vineyard is to be given. "On purpose," I say, for we may see from this very allegory, which can hardly have been spoken by Jesus himself (see Jülicher's *Gleichnissreden*, ii. pp. 405 f., though I would not commit myself on the

These two sayings are also given in Matthew[1] (xxiv. 14, xxvi. 13), who preserves a further saying which has the Gentile world in view, yet whose prophetic manner arouses no suspicion of its authenticity. In viii. 11 we read: "I tell you, many shall come from east and west, and sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, but the sons of the kingdom shall be cast out." Why should not Jesus have said this?[2] Even among the words of John the Baptist (iii. 9) do we not read: "Think not to say to yourselves, we have Abraham as our father; for I tell you, God is able to raise up children for Abraham out of these stones"?

We conclude, then, that both evangelists refrain from inserting any allusion to the Gentile mission into the framework of the public preaching of Jesus, apart from the eschatological address and the somewhat venturesome expression which occurs in the story of the anointing at Bethany. But while Matthew delimits the activity of Jesus positively and precisely, Mark adopts what we may term

point), how determined Mark was to keep the Gentile mission apart from the gospel, and how consistently Matthew retains the setting of the latter within the Jewish nation. The parable invited the evangelists to represent Jesus making some allusion to the Gentile mission, but both of them resisted the invitation (see further, Luke xx. 9 f.).

[1] We may disregard the sayings in v. 13–14 ("Ye are the salt of the earth," "Ye are the light of the world"), as well as the fact that in Mark alone (xi. 17) πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν is added to the words: "My house shall be a house of prayer."

[2] The word which occurs immediately before, in the passage about the centurion at Capernaum ("So great faith have I not found in Israel"), is also quite above suspicion.

a neutral position, though for all that he does not suppress the story of the Syro - Phœnician woman.

All this throws into more brilliant relief than ever the words of the risen Jesus in Matt. xxviii. 19 f. Matthew must have been fully conscious of the disparity between these words and the earlier words of Jesus; nay, more, he must have deliberately chosen to give expression to that disparity.[1] At the time when our gospels were written, a Lord and Saviour who had confined his preaching to the Jewish people without even issuing a single command to prosecute the universal mission, was an utter impossibility. If no such command had been issued

[1] Unless xxviii. 19 f. is a later addition to the gospel. It is impossible to be certain on this point. There is a cunning subtlety, of which one would fain believe the evangelist was incapable, in keeping his Gentile Christian readers, as it were, upon the rack with sayings which confined the gospel to Israel, just in order to let them off in the closing paragraph. Nor are the former sayings given in such a way as to suggest that they were afterwards to be taken back. On the other hand, we must observe that the first evangelist opens with the story of the wise men from the East (though even this section admits of a strictly Jewish Christian interpretation), that he shows his interest in the people who sat in darkness (iv. 13 f.), that he describes Jesus (xii. 21) as One in whose name the Gentiles trust, that he contemplates the preaching of the gospel to all the Gentiles in the eschatological speech and in the story of the anointing at Bethany, and that no positive proofs can be adduced for regarding xxviii. 19 f. as an interpolation. It is advisable, then, to credit the writer with a remarkable historical sense, which made him adhere almost invariably to the traditional framework of Christ's preaching, in order to break it open at the very close of his work. Mark's method of procedure was more simple; he excluded the missionary question altogether; at least that is the only explanation of his attitude.

before his death, it must have been imparted by him as the glorified One.[1]

In my judgment the real facts of the case lead us to conclude that Jesus never issued such a command at all, but that this reading of his life was due to the historical developments of a later age. Still, we owe a special debt of gratitude to the writers of the gospels for giving us so clear an insight into the actual situation; and, once this insight is secured, we may go on to say that Matt. xxviii. 19 f. (Mark xvi. 15 f.) is true in the ideal sense. A protest against the official religion and its champions, the gospel did break up the Jewish church. The king of the Jews who was nailed to the cross had to become Lord of a new kingdom. Thus it was the spirit of Jesus, as indeed the disciples felt, which led them to the universal mission.

Luke's standpoint does not differ from that of the two previous evangelists, a fact which is perhaps most significant of all. He has delicately coloured the introductory history with universalism,[2] while at the close, like Matthew, he makes the risen Jesus issue the command to preach the gospel to all

[1] It is therefore probable that the lost (genuine) conclusion of Mark's gospel also contained the command for the disciples to go out into all the world.

[2] It is done prudently, however, without thrusting in naked universalism. Obviously he picked his words with the view of letting the universalistic expression remain capable of another interpretation. Cp. i. 32 ("Son of the Highest"), ii. 10, 11 ("joy to all people," "Saviour"), ii. 14 ("gloria in excelsis"), ii. 32 ("a light to lighten the Gentiles"), and also (iii. 23 f.) the genealogy of Jesus traced back to Adam.

nations.[1] But in his treatment of the intervening material he follows Mark; that is, he preserves no sayings which expressly confine the activity of Jesus to the Jewish nation,[2] but, on the other hand, he gives neither word nor incident which describes that activity as universal,[3] and at no point does he deliberately correct the existing tradition.[4]

In this connection the fourth gospel need not be considered at all. After the Gentile mission, which

[1] xxiv. 47, also Acts i. 8: "Ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem and in all Judæa and in Samaria, and to the uttermost part of the earth."

[2] An indirect allusion to the limitation of his mission might be found in xxii. 30, Matt. xix. 28 (cp. p. 41), but this meaning need not be read into it.

[3] All sorts of unconvincing attempts have been made to drag this in; *e.g.*, at Peter's take of fish (v. 1 f.), at the Samaritan stories (x. 33 f., xvii. 16), and at the parable of the prodigal son (xv. 11 f.; cp. Jülicher's *Gleichn.*, ii. pp. 333 f.). Even the stories of the despatch of the apostles (vi. 13 f.) and the remarkable commission of the seventy (x. 1 f.) do not by any means represent the Gentile mission. It is by a harmless *hysteron proteron* that the twelve are now and then described by Luke as "the apostles." The programme of the speech at Nazareth (iv. 26–27) is here of primary importance, but even in it the universalism of Jesus does not seem to rise above that of the prophets. With regard to xxi. 24 = Mark xiii. 10 = Matt. xxiv. 14, we may say that Luke was quite the most careful of all those who attempted with fine feeling to reproduce the prophets' style. He never mentions the necessity of the gospel being preached throughout all the world before the end arrives, but writes: ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνων ("till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled"). As for the Samaritan stories, it does not seem as if Luke here had any ulterior tendency of a historical and religious character in his mind, such as is evident in John iv.

[4] The story of the Syro-Phœnician woman, which stands between the two stories of miraculous feeding in Mark and Matthew, was probably quite unknown to Luke. Its omission was not deliberate. He too gives (xiii. 28, 29) Matt. viii. 11.

had been undertaken with such ample results during the first two Christian generations, the fourth gospel expands the horizon of Christ's preaching and even of John the Baptist's; corresponding to this, it makes the Jews a reprobate people from the very outset, despite the historical remark in iv. 22. Even setting aside the prologue, we at once come upon (i. 29) the words put into the mouth of the Baptist, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin *of the world*." And, as a whole, the gospel is saturated with statements of a directly universalistic character. Jesus is *the Saviour of the world*, and God so loved *the world* that he sent him. We may add passages like those upon the "other sheep" and the *one* flock (x. 16). But the most significant thing of all is that this gospel makes Greeks ask after Jesus (xii. 20 f.), the latter furnishing a formal explanation of the reasons why he could not satisfy the Greeks as yet. He must first of all die. It is as the exalted One that he will first succeed in drawing *all* men to himself. We can feel here the pressure of a heavy problem.

It would be misleading to introduce here any sketch of the preaching of Jesus, or even of its essential principles,[1] for it never became the missionary preaching of the later period even to the Jews. It was the *basis* of that preaching, for the gospels were written down in order to serve as a means of evangelization; but the mission preaching was occupied with the messiahship of Jesus, his speedy return, and his establishment of God's kingdom (if Jews were to be met), or with the unity of God, creation, the Son

[1] Cp. my lectures on *What is Christianity?*

of God, and judgment (if Gentiles were to be reached). Alongside of this the words of Jesus of course exercised a silent and effective mission of their own, whilst the historical picture furnished by the gospels, together with faith in the exalted Christ, had a powerful influence over catechumens and believers.

Rightly and wisely, people no longer noticed the local and temporal traits in this historical sketch and in these sayings. They found in these a vital love of God and men, which may be described as implicit universalism; a discounting of everything external (position, personality, sex, outward worship, etc.), which made irresistibly for inwardness of character; and a protest against the entire doctrines of "the ancients," which rendered all antiquity of no value whatsoever. One of the greatest revolutions in the history of religion was initiated in this way, and executed without any revolution! All that Jesus Christ promulgated was the overthrow of the temple, and the judgment impending upon the nation and its leaders. He shattered Judaism, and brought to light the kernel of the religion of Israel. Thereby—*i.e.*, by his preaching of God as the Father—he founded the universal religion, which at the same time was the religion of the Son.

CHAPTER V.

THE TRANSITION FROM THE JEWISH TO THE GENTILE MISSION.

After the disciples were convinced that Jesus was no longer dead, they at once started to preach him and his gospel with the utmost ardour. This was inevitable in the nature of things, and history records that it actually took place. If they remained in Jerusalem at the outset—for a period of twelve years indeed, according to one early account[1] ignored

[1] This early account (in the Preaching of Peter, cited by Clem., *Strom.*, vi. 5. 43) is of course untrustworthy; it pretends to know a word spoken by the Lord to his disciples, which ran thus: "After twelve years, go out into the world, lest any should say, we have not heard" (*μετὰ ιβ' ἔτη ἐξέλθετε εἰς τὸν κόσμον, μή τις εἴπῃ· οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν*). But although the basis of the statement is apologetic and untrue, it may be right about the twelve years, for in the *Acta Petri cum Simone*, 5, and in Apollonius (in Eus., *H.E.*, v. 18. 14), the word (here also a word of the Lord) runs that the apostles were to remain for twelve years at Jerusalem, without any mention of the exodus *εἰς τὸν κόσμον*. Here, too, the "word of the Lord" lacks all support, but surely the fact of the disciples remaining for twelve years in Jerusalem can hardly have been invented. Twelve (or eleven) years after the resurrection is a period which is also fixed by other sources (see von Dobschütz in *Texte u. Unters.*, XI. i. p. 53 f.); indeed it underlies the later calculation of the year when Peter died (30 + 12 + 25 = 67 A.D.). The statement of the pseudo-Clementine Recognitions (i. 43, ix. 29), that the apostles remained seven years in Jerusalem, stands by itself.

by the book of Acts (*cf.*, however, xii. 17)—they would undertake mission tours in the vicinity; the choice of James, who did not belong to the twelve, as president of the church at Jerusalem,[1] tells in favour of this conclusion, whilst the evidence for it lies in Acts, and above all in 1 Cor. ix. 5.

The gospel was at first preached to the Jews exclusively. The church of Jerusalem was founded; presently churches in Judæa (1 Thess. ii. 14, *αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ θεοῦ αἱ οὖσαι ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ*: Gal. i. 22, *ἤμην ἀγνοούμενος τῷ προσώπῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ*), and on the sea-coast (Acts ix. 32 f.) followed. The initial relationship of these churches to Judaism does not seem to us perfectly clear. As a matter of fact, so far from being clear, it was full of inconsistencies. On the one hand, the narrative of Acts (see iii. f.), which describes the Jerusalem church as exposed to spasmodic persecutions almost from the start, is corroborated by the evidence of Paul (1 Thess. ii. 14, *ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπάθετε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν, καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ* [*i.e.* the churches in Judæa] *ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*), so that it seems untenable to hold with some Jewish scholars that originally, and indeed for whole decades, a peaceful relationship subsisted between the Christians and the Jews.[2] On

[1] Acts assumes that during the opening years the apostles superintended the church in Jerusalem; all of a sudden (xii. 17) James appears as the president.

[2] Cp. Joël's *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte* (Part II., 1883). The course of events in the Palestinian mission may be made out from Matt. x. 17 f.: *παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν μαστιγώσουσιν ὑμᾶς . . . . παραδώσει δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν εἰς θάνατον καὶ πατὴρ τέκνον καὶ ἐπαναστήσονται τέκνα ἐπὶ γονεῖς καὶ θανα-*

the other hand, it is certain that peace and toleration also prevailed, that the churches remained unmolested for a considerable length of time (Acts ix. 31, ἡ ἐκκλησία καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Σαμαρίας εἶχεν εἰρήνην), and that several Christians were highly thought of by their Jewish brethren.[1] By their strict observance of the law and their devoted attachment to the temple,[2] they fulfilled a Jew's *principal* duty, and since it was in the future that they expected Jesus as their Messiah—his first advent having been no more than a preliminary step—this feature might be overlooked, as an idiosyncrasy, by those who were inclined to think well of them for their strict observance of the law.[3] At least this is

τώσουσιν αὐτούς . . . . ὅταν δὲ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν.

[1] Hegesippus (in Eus., *H.E.*, ii. 22) relates this of James. No doubt his account is far from lucid, but the repute of James among the Jews may be safely inferred from it.

[2] Cp. Acts xxi. 20, where the Christians of Jerusalem address Paul thus: θεωρεῖς, ἀδελφέ, πάσαι μυριάδες εἰσὶν ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῶν πεπιστευκότων, καὶ πάντες ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου ὑπάρχουσιν. This passage at once elucidates and justifies the main point of Hegesippus' account of James. From one very ancient tradition (in a prologue to Mark's gospel, *c.* 200 A.D.), that when Mark became a Christian he cut off his thumbs in order to escape serving as a priest, we may infer that many a Christian Jew of the priestly class in Jerusalem still continued to discharge priestly functions in these primitive days.

[3] As Weizsäcker justly remarks (*Apost. Zeitalter*[2], p. 38; Eng. trans., i. 46 f.): "The primitive Christians held fast to the faith and polity of their nation. They had no desire to be renegades, nor was it possible to regard them as such. Even if they did not maintain the whole cultus, this did not endanger their allegiance, for Judaism tolerated not merely great latitude in doctrinal views, but also a partial observance of the cultus—as is sufficiently proved by the contemporary case of the Essenes. The Christians did not lay themselves open to the charge of violating the law. They assumed

the only way in which we can picture to ourselves the state of matters. The more zealous of their Jewish compatriots can have had really nothing but praise for the general Christian hope of the Messiah's sure and speedy advent. Doubtless it was in their view a grievous error for Christians to believe that they already knew the person of the future Messiah. But the crucifixion seemed to have torn up this belief by the roots, and for this very reason, every zealous Jew could anticipate the speedy collapse of "the offence," accompanied by the survival of the Messianic ardour. As for the Jewish authorities, they could afford to watch the progress of events, contenting themselves with a general surveillance.

no aggressive attitude. That they appeared before the local courts as well as before the Sanhedrim, the supreme national council, tallies with the fact that, on the whole, they remained Jews. It is in itself quite conceivable (cp. Matt. x. 17) that . . . . individual Christians should have been prosecuted, but discharged on the score of insufficient evidence, or that this discharge was accompanied by some punishment. . . . The whole position of Jewish Christians within the Jewish commonwealth precludes the idea that they made a practice of establishing a special synagogue for themselves on Jewish soil, or avowedly formed congregations beside the existing synagogues. As the synagogue was a regular institution of the Jewish community, such a course of action would have been equivalent to a complete desertion of all national associations and obligations whatsoever, and would therefore have resembled a revolt. The only question is, whether the existence of synagogues for foreigners in Jerusalem gave them a pretext for setting up an independent one there. It is our Acts that mentions those in a passage which is beyond suspicion; it speaks (vi. 9) about the synagogue of the Libertini, Cyrenians, Alexandrians, and those from Cilicia and Asia who disputed with Stephen. It is not quite clear whether we are to think here of a single synagogue embracing all these people, or of several—and if so, how many. The second alternative is favoured by this consideration, that the foreigners

Meantime, however, the whole movement was confined to the lower classes.[1]

But no sooner did the Gentile mission become an open fact, than this period of toleration, or of spasmodic and not very violent reactions on the part of Judaism, had to cease, paving the way for severe reprisals. Yet the Gentile mission at first drove a wedge into the little company of Christians themselves; it prompted those who disapproved of it to retire closer to their non-Christian brethren. The apostle Paul had to complain of and to contend with a double opposition. He was persecuted by Jewish Christians who were zealous for the law, no less than by the Jews (so 1 Thess. ii. 15 f., ἐκδιώξαντες ἡμᾶς . . κωλύοντες ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἔθνεσιν λαλῆσαι, ἵνα σωθῶσιν);

who, according to this account, assembled in meeting-places of their own throughout Jerusalem, proceeded on the basis of their nationality. In that case one might conjecture that the Christians, as natives of Galilee (Acts i. 11, ii. 7) took up a similar position. Yet it cannot be proved that the name was applied to them. From Acts xxiv. 5 we must assume that they were known rather by the name of 'Nazarenes,' and as this title probably described the origin, not of the body but of its founder, its character was different. . . . But even if the Christians had, like the Libertini, formed a synagogue of Galileans in Jerusalem, this would not throw much light upon the organization of their society, for we know nothing at all about the aims or regulations under which the various nationalities organized themselves into separate synagogues. And in regard to the question as a whole, we must not overlook the fact that in our sources the term synagogue is never applied to Christians."

[1] Cp. what is said of Gamaliel, Acts v. 34 f. For the lower classes, see John. vii. 48, 49, μή τις ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπίστευσεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἢ ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων; ἀλλὰ ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος ὁ μὴ γινώσκων τὸν νόμον ἐπάρατοί εἰσιν. Yet Acts (vi. 7) brings out the fact that priests (a great crowd of them—πολὺς ὄχλος—it is alleged), no less than Pharisees (xv. 5), also joined the movement.

the latter had really nothing whatever to do with the Gentile mission, but evidently they did not by any means look on with folded arms.

It is not quite clear how the Gentile mission arose. Certainly Paul was not the first missionary to the Gentiles.[1] But *a priori* considerations and the details of the evidence alike may justify us in concluding that while the transition to the Gentile mission was gradual, it was carried out with irresistible force. Here, too, the whole ground had been prepared already, thanks to the inner condition of Judaism, thanks, *i.e.*, to the process of decomposition within Judaism which made for universalism, as well as to the graduated system of the proselytes. To this we have already alluded in the first chapter.

According to Acts vi. 1,[2] the primitive Christian

[1] Paul never claims in his letters to have been absolutely the pioneer of the Gentile mission. Had it been so, he certainly would not have failed to mention it. Gal. i. 16 merely says that the apostle understood already that his conversion meant a commission to the Gentiles; it does not say that this commission was something entirely new. Nor need it be concluded that Paul started on this Gentile mission *immediately*; the object of the revelation of God's Son (ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) may have been only disclosed to him by degrees. All we are to understand is that after his conversion he needed no further conflict of the inner man in order to undertake the Gentile mission. Nevertheless, it is certain that Paul remains *the* Gentile missionary. It was he who really established the duty and the right of Gentile missions: it was he who raised the movement out of its tentative beginnings into a mission that embraced all the world.

[2] To the author of Acts, the transition from the Jewish to the Gentile mission, with the consequent rejection of Judaism, was a fact of the utmost importance; indeed one may say that he made the description of this transition the main object of his book. This is proved by the framework of the first fifteen chapters, and

community in Jerusalem was composed of two elements, one consisting of Palestinian Hebrews, and the other of Jews from the dispersion (Ἑλληνισταί). A cleavage occurred between both at an early stage, which led to the appointment of seven guardians of the poor, belonging to the second of these groups and bearing Greek names. Within this group of men, whom we may consider on the whole to have been fairly enlightened, *i.e.*, less strict than others in literal observance of the law,[1] Stephen rose to special prominence. The charge brought against him before the Sanhedrim was to the effect that he continued to utter blasphemous language against "the holy place" and the law, by affirming that Jesus

by the conclusion of the work in xxviii. 23–28 (verses 30–31 being a postscript). After quoting from Isa. vi. 9, 10—a prophecy which cancels Judaism, and which the author sees to be now fulfilled—he proceeds to make Paul address the Jews as follows: *γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν ὅτι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπεστάλη τοῦτο τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ· αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται.* This is to affirm, as explicitly as possible, that the gospel has been given, not to Jews, but to the nations at large.—The above account of the work of the Gentile mission rests upon Acts, in so far as I consider its statements trustworthy. The author was a Paulinist, but he found much simpler grounds for Christian universalism than did Paul; or rather, he found no grounds for it at all — the gospel being in itself universal — although he does not ignore the fact that at the outset it was preached to none but Jews, and that the Gentile mission was long in developing. The internal divisions of Christianity, moreover, are scarcely noticed.

[1] See Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalter* [2], pp. 51 f.; Eng. trans., i. 62 f. Naturally they were "good" Jews, otherwise they would never have settled at Jerusalem; but we may assume that these synagogues of the Libertini (Romans), the Cyrenians, the Alexandrians, the Cilicians and Asiatics (Acts vi. 9), embraced Hellenistic Jews as well, who had mitigated the Jewish religion with their Hellenistic culture.

was to destroy the temple and alter the customs enjoined by Moses. This charge is in Acts described as false; but, as the speech of Stephen proves, it was well founded so far as it went, the falsehood consisting merely in the conscious purpose attributed to the words in question. Stephen did not attack the temple and the law in order to dispute their divine origin, but he did affirm the limited period of these institutions. In this way he did set himself in opposition to the popular Judaism of his time, but hardly in opposition to all that was Jewish. It is beyond doubt that within Judaism itself, especially throughout the Diaspora, tendencies were already abroad by which the temple-cultus,[1] and primarily its element of bloody sacrifices, was regarded as unessential and even of doubtful validity. Besides, it is equally certain that in many a Jewish circle, for external and internal reasons, the outward observance of the law was not considered of any great value; it was more or less eclipsed by the moral law. Consequently it is quite conceivable, historically and psychologically, that a Jew of the Diaspora who had been won over to Christianity should associate the supreme and exclusive moral considerations urged by the new faith[2] with the feelings he had already learned to cherish, viz., that the temple and the ceremonial law were relatively

[1] Particularly when this was profaned over and over again by a secularized priesthood.

[2] At this point it may be also recalled that Jesus himself foretold the overthrow of the temple. With Weizsäcker (*op. cit.*, p. 53; Eng. trans., i. 65) I consider that saying of our Lord is genuine. It became the starting-point of an inner development in his disciples which finally led up to the Gentile mission.

useless; it is also conceivable that he should draw the natural inference—Jesus the Messiah will abolish the temple-cultus and alter the ceremonial law. Observe the future tense. Acts seems here to reproduce the situation with great exactness; for Stephen did not urge any changes—these were to be effected by Jesus, when he returned as Messiah. Stephen merely announced them by way of prophecy, and thus implied that the existing arrangements were valueless. He did not urge the Gentile mission; but by his words and death he helped to set it up.

When Stephen was stoned, he died, like Huss, for a cause whose issues he did not foresee. It is not surprising that he was stoned, for orthodox Judaism could least afford to tolerate this kind of believer in Jesus. His adherents were also persecuted—the grave peril of the little company of Christians being thus revealed all at once in a flash. All except the apostles (Acts viii. 1) had to leave Jerusalem. Thus the latter had not yet declared themselves as a body on the side of Stephen in the matter of his indictment.[1] The scattered Christians went abroad

[1] This seems to me an extremely important fact, and one which at the same time corroborates the historical accuracy of Acts at this point. Evidently the Christians at this period were persecuted with certain exceptions; none were disturbed whose devotion to the temple and the law was unimpeachable, and these still included Peter and the rest of the apostles. Acts makes it perfectly plain that it was only at a later, though not much later, period that Peter took his first step outside strict Judaism. Weizsäcker's reading of the incident is different (*op. cit.*, pp. 60 f.; Eng. trans., i. 75). He holds that the first step was taken at this period; but otherwise he is right in saying that "it is obvious that nothing was so likely to create and strengthen this conviction (viz., that the future, the salvation to be obtained in the kingdom

throughout Judæa and Samaria; *nolens volens* they acted as missionaries, *i.e.*, as apostles (Acts viii. 4). The most important of them was Philip, the guardian of the poor, who preached in Samaria and along the sea-board; and there is a long account of how he convinced and baptized an Ethiopian officer, a eunuch (Acts viii. 26 f.). This is perfectly intelligible. The man was not a Jew. He belonged to the "God-fearing" class (*φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν*). Besides, even if he had been circumcised, he could not have become a Jew. Thus, when this semi-proselyte, this eunuch, was brought into the Christian church, it implied the downfall of one stout barrier.

Still, a single case is not decisive, and even the second case of this kind, that of Peter baptizing the "God-fearing" (*φοβούμενος*) Cornelius at Cæsarea, could not possess at that early period the palmary importance which the author of Acts attaches to it.[1] So long as it was a question of proselytes, even of proselytes in the widest sense of the term, there was

itself, could no longer rest upon the obligations of the law) as Pharisaic attacks prompted by the view that faith in Jesus and his kingdom was prejudicial to the inviolable duration of the law, and to belief in its power of securing salvation. The persecution, therefore, liberated the Christian faith; it was the means by which it came to know itself. And in this sense it was not without its fruits in the primitive church."

[1] At least the importance did not lie in the direction in which the author of Acts looked to find it. Still, the case was one of great moment in this sense, that it forced Peter to side at last with that theory and practice which had hitherto (see the note above) been followed by none save the friends of Stephen (excluding the primitive apostles). The conversion of the Cæsarean officer led Peter, and with Peter a section of the church at Jerusalem, considerably further. It must be admitted, however, that the whole passage makes one suspect its historical character.

always one standpoint from which the strictest Jewish Christian himself could reconcile his mind to their admission: he could regard the proselytes thus admitted as adherents of the Christian community in the *wider* sense of the term, *i.e.*, as proselytes still.

A further and much more decisive step was taken at Antioch, again upon the initiative of the scattered adherents of Stephen (Acts xi. 19 f.), who had reached Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Antioch on their missionary wanderings. The majority of them confined themselves strictly to the Jewish mission. But some, who were natives of Cyprus and Crete,[1] preached also to the Greeks[2] in Antioch with excellent results. *They were the first missionaries to the heathen;* they founded the first Gentile church, that of Antioch. In this work they were joined by Barnabas and Paul (Acts xi. 23 f.), who soon became the real leading spirits in the movement.

The converted Greeks in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia (to which Barnabas and Paul presently extended their mission), during this initial period were by no means drawn merely from those who had been "God-fearing" (*φοβούμενοι*) already, although

[1] No names are given in the second passage, but afterwards (xiii. 1) Barnabas the Cypriote, Simeon Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, Manaen, and Saul, are mentioned as prophets and teachers at Antioch. As Barnabas and Saul did not reach Antioch until after the founding of the church (cp. xi. 22 f.), we may probably recognize in the other three persons the founders of the church, and consequently the first missionaries to the heathen. But Barnabas also deserves honourable mention among the originators of the Gentile mission. He must have reached the broader outlook independently, as indeed is plain from Paul's relations with him.

[2] So Acts x. 20, reading Ἕλληνες, not Ἑλληνίσται.

this may have been the origin of a large number.[1] At any rate a church was founded at Antioch which consisted for the most part of uncircumcised persons. For this church the designation of Χριστιανοί ("Christians," Acts xi. 26) came into vogue, a name coined by their heathen opponents. This title is itself a proof that the new community in Antioch stood out in bold relief from Judaism.[2] *The name of Christian was the title of Gentile Christians;*[3] neither at first nor for a long while to come, were Jewish Christians designated by this name.[4]

The Gentile Christian churches of Syria and Cilicia did not observe the law, and yet they were conscious of being the people of God in the fullest sense of the term. The majority were quite content with the assurance that God had already moved the prophets to proclaim the uselessness of sacrifice,[5] so

[1] Cp. Havet, *Le Christianisme*, vol. iv. p. 102: "Je ne sais s'il y est entré, du vivant de Paul, un seul païen, je veux dire un homme qui ne connût pas déjà, avant d'y entrer, le judaïsme et la Bible." This is no doubt an exaggeration, but substantially it is accurate.

[2] Details on the name of "Christian" in Book III.

[3] Jews could not introduce the name of "Christians," nor could it occur to pagans to speak of "Christians" so long as the movement remained wholly within Judaism and therefore lacked interest for them. The name presupposes the conversion of pagans to the gospel.

[4] I know one early Christian fragment, hitherto unpublished, which contains the expression Χριστιανοί τε καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι Χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦντες ["Christians and Jews confessing Christ"].

[5] With regard to the sacrificial system, the right of abandoning the literal meaning had been clearly made out, as that system had already become antiquated and depreciated in the eyes of large sections of people. The rest of the law followed as a matter of course.

that all the ceremonial part of the law had to be allegorically interpreted and understood in some moral sense.[1] And such was the view originally held by the other Gentile Christian communities which, like that of Rome, were being founded by unknown missionaries.

The apostle Paul, however, could not settle his position towards the law with such simplicity. For him no part of the law had been depreciated in value by any noiseless, disintegrating influence of time or circumstances; on the contrary, the law remained valid and operative in all its provisions. It could not be abrogated save by him who had ordained it—*i.e.*, by God himself. Nor could even God abolish it save by affirming at the same time its rights—*i.e.*, he must abolish it just by providing for its fulfilment. And this was what actually took place. By means of the death of Jesus Christ, God's Son, upon the cross, the law was at once fulfilled and abolished. Whether all this reflection and speculation was secondary and derivative (resulting from the possession of the Spirit and the new life which the apostle felt within himself), or primary (resulting from the assurance that his sins were forgiven), or whether these two sources coalesced, is a question which need not occupy us here. The point is, that Paul firmly and unhesitatingly recognized the gospel to be the new *level of religion*, just as he felt himself to be a new creature in virtue of his Christianity. The new religious level was the

[1] The post-apostolic literature shows with especial clearness that this was the popular view taken by the Gentile Christians; so that it must have maintained its vogue, despite the wide divergences and the force of Paul's own teaching.

level of the Spirit and regeneration, of grace and faith, of peace and liberty; below and behind it lay *everything old*, including all the earlier revelations of God, since these were religions pertaining to the state of sin. This it was which enabled Paul, Jew and Pharisee as he was, to venture upon the great conception with which he laid the basis of any sound philosophy of religion and of the whole science of comparative religion, viz., the collocation of the "natural" knowledge of God possessed by man (or all that had developed in man under the sway of conscience) with the law of the chosen people. Both, Paul held, were revelations of God; both represented what had been hitherto the supreme possession of mankind. Yet both had proved inadequate, and had ended in death.

Now *a new religion was in force.* And for this very reason the Gentile mission was not a possibility but a duty, whilst freedom from the law was not a concession, but the distinctive and delightful form which the gospel assumed for men. Its essence consisted in the fact that it was not law in any sense of the term, but grace and a free gift. The Christian who had been born a Jew might have himself circumcised to keep the law—which would imply that he considered the Jewish nation were still possessed of a power which had some further part to play[1] in the world-wide plan of God. But

[1] However, as Christians of Jewish birth had, in Paul's view, to live and eat side by side with Gentile Christians, the observance of the law was broken down at one very vital point. It was only Paul's belief in the nearness of the advent that prevented him from reflecting further on this problem.

even so, there was nothing in the law to secure the bliss of the Jewish Christian; and as for the Gentile Christian, he was not allowed either to practise circumcision or to keep the law. In his case, such practices would have amounted to a declaration that Christ had died in vain.

Thus it was that Paul preached to the Gentiles, and not only established the principle of the Gentile mission, but made it an actual and living thing. The work of his predecessors had been a hybrid; it seemed to reach the same end as he did, but it was not entirely just to the law or to the gospel. Paul wrecked the religion of Israel, in the very act of comprehending it with a greater reverence and stricter obedience than his predecessors. The day of Israel, he declared, had now expired. He honoured the Jewish Christian community at Jerusalem, the spring of so much antagonism to himself, with a respect which is almost inconceivable; but he made it perfectly unambiguous that "the times of the Gentiles" had arrived, and that if any Jewish Christian churches did not unite with the Gentile Christian churches to form the *one* "church of God," they forfeited by this exclusiveness their very right to existence. Paul's conception of religion and of religious history was extremely simple and profoundly inexhaustible, if one looks at its kernel. Naturally it cannot be reduced to a brief formula without being distorted into a platitude. It is never vital except in the form of a paradox. But instead of the particular modes of expression which Paul introduced, and in which he himself found the conception valid and secure, it was possible that other

modes of expression might also arise, as was the case in the very next generation with the author of Hebrews and with the anonymous genius who composed the Johannine writings. From that time onwards many other teachers continued to appear, who transformed the Pauline gospel (*i.e.*, Marcion and Clement of Alexandria, to name a couple of very different writers from the second century). But what they transformed was not the kernel of Paulinism. On that point they were entirely at one with the apostle. For it is the great prerogative of the historian in a later age to be able to detect real unity in quarters where the parties themselves were conscious of nothing at the time except their differences.

Historically, Paul the Pharisee dethroned the people and the religion of Israel;[1] he tore the gospel from

[1] Little wonder that Jews of a later day declared he was a pagan in disguise: cp. Epiph. *Hær.*, xxx. 16: καὶ τοῦ Παύλου κατηγοροῦντες οὐκ αἰσχύνονται ἐπιπλάστοις τισὶ τῆς τῶν ψευδαποστόλων αὐτῶν κακουργίας καὶ πλάνης λόγοις πεποιημένοις. Ταρσέα μὲν αὐτόν, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἀρνεῖται, λέγοντες ἐξ Ἑλλήνων δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποτίθενται, λαβόντες τὴν προφάσιν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου διὰ τὸ φιλάληθες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ῥηθέν, ὅτι, Ταρσεύς εἰμι, οὐκ ἀσήμου πόλεως πολίτης. εἶτα φάσκουσιν αὐτὸν εἶναι Ἕλληνα καὶ Ἑλληνίδος μητρὸς καὶ Ἕλληνος πατρὸς παῖδα, ἀναβεβηκέναι δὲ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ χρόνον ἐκεῖ μεμενηκέναι ἐπιτεθυμηκέναι δὲ θυγατέρα τοῦ ἱερέως πρὸς γάμον ἀγαγέσθαι καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα προσήλυτον γενέσθαι καὶ περιτμηθῆναι, εἶτα μὴ λαβόντα τὴν κόρην ὠργίσθαι καὶ κατὰ περιτομῆς γεγραφέναι καὶ κατὰ σαββάτου καὶ νομοθεσίας ("Nor are they ashamed to accuse Paul with false charges concocted by the villainy and fraud of these false apostles. While a native of Tarsus (as he himself frankly admits) they avow that he was born of Greek parentage, taking as their pretext for this assertion the passage in which Paul's love of truth leads him to declare, 'I am of Tarsus, a citizen of no mean city.' Whereupon they allege that he was the son of a Greek father and a Greek mother; that he went up to Jerusalem, where he resided for some time; that he resolved to marry the

its Jewish soil and rooted it in the soil of humanity.[1] Little wonder that the thoroughgoing reaction of Judaism against the gospel now commenced—a reaction on the part of Jews and Jewish Christians alike. The hostility of the Jews appears on every page of Acts, from chap. xiii. onwards. They tried to hamper every step of the apostle's work among the Gentiles; they stirred up the masses and the authorities in every country against him; systematically and officially they scattered broadcast horrible charges against the Christians, which played an important part in the persecutions as early as the reign of Trajan; they started calumnies against Jesus;[2] they provided heathen opponents of Chris-

daughter of the high priest, and consequently became a proselyte and got circumcised; and that on failing to win the girl, he vented his anger in writing against circumcision and the sabbath and the Mosaic legislation").

[1] No one has stated the issues of this transplanting more sublimely than Luke in his narrative of the birth of Jesus (Luke ii.), in the words which he put into the mouths of the angel and the angels.

[2] Justin (*Dial.* xvii.; cp. cviii., cxvii.) observes that the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem despatched ἄνδρας ἐκλεκτοὺς ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλὴμ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, λέγοντας ἄιρεσιν ἄθεον Χριστιανῶν πεφηνέναι, καταλέγοντας ταῦτα, ἅπερ καθ' ἡμῶν οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες ἡμᾶς πάντες λέγουσιν, ὥστε οὐ μόνον ἑαυτοῖς ἀδικίας αἴτιοι ὑπάρχετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἁπλῶς ἀνθρώποις ("Chosen men from Jerusalem into every land, declaring that a *godless* sect of Christians had appeared, and uttering everything that those who are ignorant of us say unanimously against us. So that you are the cause not only of your own unrighteousness, but also of that of all other men"). Cp. cxvii.: τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄνομα βεβηλωθῆναι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν καὶ βλασφημεῖσθαι οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ ὑμῶν καὶ διδάσκαλοι εἰργάσαντο ("The name of the Son of God have the chief priests of your nation and your teachers caused to be profaned throughout all the earth and to be blasphemed"). Also cviii.: ἄνδρας χειροντονήσαντες ἐκλεκτοὺς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην

tianity with literary ammunition; unless the evidence is misleading, they instigated the Neronic outburst against the Christians; and as a rule whenever bloody persecutions are afoot in later days, the Jews are either in the background or the foreground (the synagogues being dubbed by Tertullian "fontes persecutionum"). By a sort of instinct they felt that Gentile Christianity, though apparently it was no concern of theirs, was their peculiar foe. This course of action on the part of the Jews was inevitable. They merely accelerated a process which implied the complete liberation of the new religion from the old, and which prevented Judaism from solving the problem which she had

ἐπέμψατε, κηρύσσοντας ὅτι ἄιρεσις τις ἄθεος καὶ ἄνομος ἐγήγερται ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ τινος Γαλιλαίου πλάνου, ὃν σταυρωσάντων ἡμῶν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος νυκτὸς . . . . πλανῶσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λέγοντες ἐγηγέρθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνεληλυθέναι, κατειπόντες δεδιδαχέναι καὶ ταῦτα ἅπερ κατὰ τῶν ὁμολογούντων Χριστὸν καὶ διδάσκαλον καὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ εἶναι παντὶ γένει ἀνθρώπων ἄθεα καὶ ἄνομα καὶ ἀνόσια λέγετε ("You have sent chosen and *appointed* men into all the world to proclaim that 'a godless and lawless sect has arisen from a certain Jesus, a Galilean impostor, whom we crucified; his disciples, however, stole him by night from the tomb . . . . and now deceive people by asserting that he rose from the dead and ascended into heaven.' You accuse him of having taught the godless, lawless, and unholy doctrines which you bring forward against those who acknowledge him to be Christ, a teacher from God, and the Son of God"). *Apol.*, I. x.; Tert., *ad Nat.*, I. xiv.: et credidit vulgus Judaeo; quod enim aliud genus seminarium est infamiae nostrae? ("The crowd believed the Jew. In what other set of people lies the seedplot of calumny against us?"); *adv. Marc.*, iii. 23; *adv. Jud.*, xiii. Origen repeatedly testifies to the fact that the Jews were the originators of the calumnies against Christians. By far the most important notice is that preserved by Eusebius (on Isa. xviii. 1 f.), although its source is unfortunately unknown—at any rate it did not come from Justin. It runs as follows: εὕρομεν ἐν τοῖς τῶν παλαιῶν συγγράμμασιν, ὡς οἱ τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἰκοῦντες τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἱερεῖς καὶ πρεσβύτεροι

already faced, the problem of her metamorphosis into a religion for the world. In this sense there was something satisfactory about the Jewish opposition. It helped both religions to make the mutual breach complete, whilst it also deepened in the minds of Gentile Christians—at a time when this still needed to be deepened—the assurance that their religion did represent a new creation, and that they were no mere class of people admitted into some lower rank, but were themselves the new People of God, who had succeeded to the old.[1]

γράμματα διαχαράξαντες εἰς πάντα διεπέμψαντο τὰ ἔθνη τοῖς ἁπανταχοῦ Ἰουδαίοις διαβάλλοντες τὴν Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίαν ὡς αἵρεσιν καινὴν καὶ ἀλλοτρίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, παρήγγελλόν τε δι' ἐπιστολῶν μὴ παραδέξασθαι αὐτήν . . . . οἵ τε ἀπόστολοι αὐτῶν ἐπιστολὰς βιβλίνας κομιζόμενοι . . . . ἁπανταχοῦ γῆς διέτρεχον, τὸν περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐνδιαβάλλοντες λόγον. ἀποστόλους δὲ εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐστὶν Ἰουδαίοις ὀνομάζειν τοὺς ἐγκύκλια γράμματα παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν ἐπικομιζομένους ("In the writings of the ancients we find that the priests and elders of the Jewish people resident at Jerusalem drew up and despatched written instructions for the Jews throughout every country, slandering the doctrine of Christ as a newfangled heresy which was alien to God, and charging them by means of letters not to accept it. . . . Their *apostles* also, conveying *formal letters* . . . . swarmed everywhere on earth, calumniating the gospel of our Saviour. And even at the present day it is still the custom of the Jews to give the name of 'apostle' to those who convey encyclical epistles from their rulers"). According to this passage Paul would be an "apostle" before he became an apostle, and the question might be raised whether the former capacity did not contribute in some way to the feeling he had, on becoming a Christian, that he was thereby called immediately to be an apostle of Christ.

[1] In this connection one is also bound to notice the Christian use of ἔθνη ("gentes," "Gentiles"). In the Old Testament the ἔθνη are opposed to the people of Israel (which was also reckoned, as was natural under the circumstances, among the "peoples"), so that it was quite easy for a Jew to describe other *religions* by simply saying that they were religions of the ἔθνη. Consequently ἔθνη had

But the Jewish Christians also entered the arena. They issued from Jerusalem a demand that the church at Antioch should be circumcised, and the result of this demand was the so-called apostolic council. We possess two accounts of this (Gal. ii. and Acts xv.). Each leaves much to be desired, and it is hardly possible to harmonize them both. Paul's account is not so much written down as flung out pell-mell; such is the vigour with which it strives to communicate the final result, that its abrupt sentences render the various intermediate stages either invisible or indistinct. The other account has thrown the final result of the council into utter confusion by the irrelevant introduction of what transpired at a later period; and even otherwise this account excites suspicion. Still we can see plainly that Peter, John, and James recognized the work of Paul, that they

acquired among the Jews, long before the Christian era, a sense which roughly coincided with that of our word "pagans" or "heathen." Paul was therefore unable to allow any Christian of non-Jewish extraction to be still ranked among the ἔθνη, nor would it seem that Paul was alone in this contention. Such a convert once belonged to the ἔθνη, but not now (cp., *e.g.*, 1 Cor. xii. 2: οἴδατε ὅτι ὅτε ἔθνη ἦτε πρὸς τὰ εἴδωλα . . . . ἤγεσθε, "ye know that when ye *were* Gentiles, ye were led away to idols"); now he belongs to the *true* Israel, or to the new People. It is plain that this did not originally imply an actual change of nationality; but it must have proved a powerful stimulus to the cosmopolitan feeling among Christians, and again to the consciousness that even politically they occupied a distinctive position, when they were thus contrasted with all the ἔθνη on the one hand, and on the other were thought of as the new People of the world, repudiating all connection with the Jews. We need hardly stop to mention that Christians were still described as members of the ἔθνη, in cases where the relationship caused no misunderstanding, and where it was purely a question of non-Jewish descent.

gave him no injunctions as to his missionary labours, and that they chose still to confine themselves to the Jewish mission. Paul did not at once succeed in uniting Jewish and Gentile Christians in a single fellowship of life and worship; it was merely the principle of this fellowship that gained the day, and even this principle—an agreement which in itself was naturally unstable and shortlived—could be ignored by wide circles of Jewish Christians. Nevertheless much ground had been won. The stipulation itself ensured that, and still more all the developments to which it led. The Jewish Christians split up. How they could still continue to hold together (in Jerusalem and elsewhere) for years to come, is an insoluble riddle. One section persisted in doing everything they could to persecute Paul and his work with ardent hostility; to crush him was their great aim. In this they certainly were actuated by some honest convictions, which Paul was naturally incapable of understanding. To the very last, indeed, he made concessions to these "zealots for the law" within the boundaries of Palestine; but outside Palestine he repudiated them so soon as they tried to win over Gentiles to their own form of Christianity. The other section, including Peter and probably the rest of the primitive apostles, commenced before long to advance beyond the agreement, though in a somewhat hesitating and tentative fashion; outside Palestine they began to hold intercourse with the Gentile Christians, and to lead the Jewish Christians also in this direction. These tentative endeavours culminated in a new agreement, which now made a real fellowship possible for both parties. The condi-

tion was that the Gentile Christians were to abstain from flesh offered to idols, from tasting blood and things strangled, and from fornication. Henceforth Peter, probably with one or two others of the primitive apostles, took part in the Gentile mission. The last barrier had collapsed.[1] If we marvel at the greatness of Paul, we should not marvel less at the primitive apostles, who for the gospel's sake entered on a career which the Lord and Master, with whom they had eaten and drunk, had never taught them.

By entering upon a living fellowship with Gentile Christians, this Jewish Christianity did away with itself, and in the second period of his labours Peter ceased to be a "Jewish Christian."[2] Still, two Jewish

[1] We may well imagine that originally there were also Jewish Christian communities in the Diaspora (not simply a Jewish Christian set inside Gentile Christian communities), and that they were not confined even to the provinces bordering on Palestine. But in Asia Minor, or wherever else such Jewish Christian communities existed, they must have been absorbed at a relatively early period by the Gentile Christian or Pauline communities. The communities of Smyrna and Philadelphia about 93 A.D. (cp. Rev. ii.–iii.) seem to have been composed mainly of converted Jews, but they are leagued with an association of the other communities, just as if they were Gentile Christians.

[2] His labours in the mission-field must have brought him to the side of Paul (cp. *Clem. Rom.*, v.), but we have no detailed information on this point. Incidentally we hear of him being at Antioch (Gal. ii.). It is also likely, to judge from First Corinthians, that on his travels he reached Corinth shortly after the local church had been founded, but it is by a mere chance that we learn this. After Acts xii. Luke loses all interest in Peter's missionary efforts; why, we cannot quite make out. But if he laboured among Jewish Christians in a broad spirit, and yet did not emancipate them outright from the customs of Judaism, we can understand how the Gentile Christian tradition took no particular interest in his movement. Still, there must have been one epoch in his life when

Christian parties continued to exist. One of these held by the agreement of the apostolic council; it gave the Gentile Christians its blessing, but held aloof from them in daily life. The other persisted in fighting the Gentile church as a false church. Neither party is of any account in the subsequent history of the church, owing to their numerical weakness. According to Justin (*Apol.*, I. liii.), who must have known the facts, Jesus was rejected by the Jewish nation "with few exceptions" (πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν). In the Diaspora, apart from Syria and Egypt, Jewish Christians were hardly to be met with;[1] there the Gentile Christians felt themselves to be masters,

he consented heart and soul to the principles of Gentile Christianity; and it may be conjectured that this took place as early as the time of his residence at Corinth, not at the subsequent period of his sojourn in Rome. He stayed for some months at Rome, before he was crucified. This we learn from an ancient piece of evidence which (one is surprised to find) has not yet been noticed. Porphyry, in Macarius Magnes (iii. 22), writes: "Peter is narrated to have been crucified, after pasturing the lambs for several months" (ἱστορεῖται μήδ' ὀλίγους μῆνας βοσκήσας τὰ προβάτια ὁ Πέτρος ἐσταυρῶσθαι). This passage must refer to his residence at Rome, and its testimony is all the more weighty, as Porphyry himself lived for a long while in Rome and had close dealings with the local Christianity. If the pagan cited in Macarius was not Porphyry himself, then he copied from him.

[1] Individual efforts of propaganda were not, however, awanting. Such include the origins of the pseudo-Clementine literature, Symmachus and his literary efforts towards the close of the second century, and also that Elkesaite Alcibiades of Apamea in Syria, who went to Rome and is mentioned by Hippolytus in the *Philosophumena*. The syncretism of gnostic Jewish Christianity, to which all these phenomena belong, entitled it to expect a better hearing in the pagan world than the stricter form of the Christian faith. But it would lead us too far afield from our present purpose to go into details.

and almost to be in sole possession of the field.[1] This did not last, however, beyond 180 A.D., when the Catholic church put Jewish Christians upon her roll of heretics. They were thus paid back in their own coin by Gentile Christianity; the heretics turned their former judges into heretics.

Before long the relations of Jewish Christians to their kinsmen the Jews also took a turn for the worse —that is, so far as actual relations existed between them at all. It was the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple which seems to have evoked the final crisis resulting in a complete breach between these two parties.[2] No Christian, even supposing he were a zealous Jewish Christian, could look upon the catastrophe which befell the Jewish state, with its capital and sanctuary, as anything else than the just punishment of the nation for having crucified their Messiah. Strictly speaking, he ceased from that moment to be a Jew; for a Jew who accepted the downfall of his state and temple as a *divine* dispensation, thereby committed national suicide. Undoubtedly the catastrophe decimated the exclusive Jewish Christianity of Palestine and drove a considerable number either back into Judaism or forward into the Catholic church. Yet how illogical

[1] The turn things took is seen in Justin's *Dial.* xlvii. Gentile Christians for a long while ceased to lay down any conditions, but they carefully considered on their part whether they could recognize Jewish Christians as Christian brethren, and if so, to what extent. They acted in this matter with considerable vigour.

[2] We do not know when Jewish Christians broke off, or were forced to break off, from all connection with the synagogues; we can only conjecture that such connections lasted till about 70 A.D. Then they ceased.

human feelings can be, when they are linked to a powerful tradition! There were Jewish Christians still, who remained after the fall of Jerusalem just where they had stood before; evidently they bewailed the fall of the temple, and yet they saw in its fall a merited punishment. Did they, we ask, or did they not, venture to desire the rebuilding of the temple? We can readily understand how such people proved a double offence to their fellow-countrymen, the genuine Jews. Indeed they were always falling between two fires, for the Jews persecuted them with bitter hatred,[1] while the Gentile church censured them as heretics—*i.e.*, as non-Christians. They are dubbed indifferently by Jerome, who knew them personally,[2] "semi-Judaei" and "semi-Christiani." Nor was Jerome mistaken. They were really "semis"; they were "half" this or that, although they followed the course of conduct which Jesus had himself observed.

[1] Epiphanius (xxix. 9): *οὐ μόνον οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων παῖδες πρὸς τούτους κέκτηνται μῖσος, ἀλλὰ ἀνιστάμενοι ἕωθεν καὶ μέσης ἡμέρας καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν, τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας, ὅτε εὐχὰς ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν συναγωγαῖς ἐπαρῶνται αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀναθεματίζουσι φάσκοντες ὅτι· Ἐπικαταράσαι ὁ θεὸς τοὺς Ναζωραίους. καὶ γὰρ τούτοις περισσότερον ἐνέχουσι, διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων αὐτοὺς ὄντας Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσειν εἶναι Χριστόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐναντίον πρὸς τοὺς ἔτι Ἰουδαίους τοὺς Χριστὸν μὴ δεξαμένους* ("Not merely are they visited with hatred at the hands of Jewish children, but rising at dawn, at noon, and eventide, when they perform their orisons in their synagogues, the Jews curse them and anathematize them, crying 'God curse the Nazarenes!' For, indeed, they are assailed all the more bitterly because, being themselves of Jewish origin, they proclaim Jesus to be the Messiah—in opposition to the other Jews who reject Christ").

[2] Epiphanius (*loc. cit.*) says of them: *Ἰουδαῖοι μᾶλλον καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον· πάνυ δὲ οὗτοι ἐχθροὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὑπάρχουσιν* ("They are Jews more than anything else, and yet they are detested by the Jews").

Crushed by the letter of Jesus, they died a lingering death.

There is hardly any fact which deserves to be turned over and thought over so much as this, that the religion of Jesus has never been able to root itself in Jewish or—as has been rightly pointed out—upon Semitic soil.[1] Certainly there must have been, and certainly there must be still, some element in this religion which is allied to the greater freedom of the Greek spirit. In one sense Christianity has really remained Greek down to the present day. The forms it acquired on Greek soil have been modified, but they have never been laid aside within the church at large, not even within Protestantism itself. And what a trial of strength this religion underwent in the tender days of its childhood! "Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred unto a land that I will show thee, and I will make of thee a great nation." Islam rose in Arabia and has remained upon the whole an Arabian religion; the strength of its youth was also the strength of its manhood. Christianity, almost immediately after it appeared, was dislodged from the nation to which it belonged; and thus from the very outset it was forced to learn how to distinguish between the kernel and the husk.[2]

[1] The Syrians constitute a certain exception to this rule; yet how markedly was the Syrian Church Grecized, although it retained its native language!

[2] The gospel allied itself, in a specially intimate way, to Hellenism, but even this alliance was by no means a monopoly during the period of which we are speaking; on the contrary, the greatest stress was laid still, as by Paul of old, upon the fact that *all* peoples were called, and the gospel accepted by members of *all* nations. Certainly the Greeks ranked as *primi inter pares*, and

Paul is only responsible in part for the sharp anti-Judaism which developed within even the earliest phases of Gentile Christianity. Though he held that the day of the Jews (*πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐναντίον*, 1 Thess. ii. 15) was past and gone, yet he neither could nor would believe in a final repudiation of God's people; on that point his last word is said in Rom. xi. 25, 29: —*οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο, ὅτι πώρωσις ἀπὸ μέρους τῷ Ἰσραὴλ γέγονεν ἄχρις οὗ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ, καὶ οὕτως πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται . . ἀμεταμέλητα γὰρ τὰ χαρίσματα καὶ ἡ κλῆσις τοῦ θεοῦ.* In this sense Paul remained a Jewish Christian to the end. The duality of mankind (Jews and "nations") remained, in one way, intact, despite the *one* church of God which embraced them both. Nor did this church abrogate the special promises made to the Jews.

But this standpoint remained a Pauline idiosyncrasy. Where people simply had recourse, as the large majority of Christians had, to the allegorical method in order to emancipate themselves from the letter, and even from the contents, of Old Testament religion, the Pauline view had no attraction for

the esteem in which they were held was bound to increase in proportion as tradition came to be emphasized, since it was neither possible nor permissible as yet to trace back the latter to the Jews (from the middle of the second century onwards, the appeal of tradition to the church of Jerusalem was not to a Jewish, but to a Greek church). In this sense, even the Latins felt themselves in a secondary position as compared with the Greeks, but it was not long before the Roman church understood how to make up for this disadvantage. In the Easter controversy, about the year 190 A.D., certain rivalries between the Greeks and Latins came to light for the first time; but they were confined to provincial churches, instead of being national.

them; in fact it was quite inadmissible, since the legitimacy of the allegorical conception, and inferentially the legitimacy of the Gentile church in general, was called in question, if the Pauline view held good at any single point.[1] If the people of Israel still retained a single privilege, if a single special promise still had any meaning whatsoever, if even one letter had still to remain in force—how could the whole of the Old Testament be spiritualized? How could it all be transferred to another people? The result of this mental attitude was the conviction that the Jewish people was now rejected; it was Ishmael, not Isaac: Esau, not Jacob. Yet even this judgment did not go far enough. If the spiritual meaning of the Old Testament is the correct one, and the literal false, then (it was argued) *the former was correct from the very first*, since what was false yesterday cannot be true to-day. Now the Jewish people from the first persisted in adhering to the literal interpretation, practising circumcision, offering bloody sacrifices, and observing the regulations concerning food; consequently they were always in error, and have thus made it plain that *they never were the chosen people.* The chosen people throughout was the Christian people, which always existed in a sort of latent condition (the younger brother being really the elder), though it only came to light at first with Christ. From the outset the Jewish people had lost the promise; indeed it was a matter of opinion whether it had ever been meant for them at all. In

[1] As the post-apostolic literature shows, there were wide circles in which Paul's doctrine of the law and the old covenant was never understood, and consequently was never accepted.

any case the literal interpretation of God's revealed will proved that the people had been forsaken by God, and had fallen under the sway of the devil. As this was quite clear, the final step had now to be taken, the final sentence had now to be pronounced: *the Old Testament, from cover to cover, has nothing whatever to do with the Jews.* Illegally and insolently the Jews had seized upon it, confiscated it, and tried to claim it as their own property. They had falsified it by their expositions, and even by corrections and omissions. Every Christian must therefore deny them the possession of the Old Testament. It would be a sin for Christians to say, "this book belongs to us and to the Jews," seeing that *the book belonged from the outset, as it belongs now and evermore, to none but Christians*, whilst Jews are the worst people, the most godless and God-forsaken, of all the nations upon earth,[1] the devil's own people, Satan's synagogue, a fellowship of hypocrites.[2] They are stamped by their crucifixion of the Lord.[3] God has now brought them to an open ruin, before the eyes of all the world;

[1] Justin, for example, looks on the Jews not more but less favourably than on the heathen (cp. *Apol.*, I. xxxvii., xxxix., xliii. xliv., xlvii., liii., lx.). The more friendly attitude of Aristides (*Apol.* xiv.) is exceptional.

[2] Cp. Rev. ii. 9, iii. 9, Did. viii., and the treatment of the Jews in the Fourth Gospel and the Gospel of Peter. Barnabas (ix. 4) declares that a wicked angel had seduced them from the very first. In 2 Clem. ii. 3, the Jews are called οἱ δοκοῦντες ἔχειν θεόν ("they that seem to have God"); similarly in the Preaching of Peter (Clem., *Strom.*; vi. 5. 41): ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι οἰόμενοι τὸν θεὸν γιγνώσκειν οὐκ ἐπίστανται ("They suppose they alone know God, but they do not understand him").

[3] Pilate was more and more exonerated.

their temple is burnt, their city destroyed, their commonwealth shattered, their people scattered — never again is Jerusalem to be frequented.[1] It may be questioned, therefore, whether God still desires this people to be converted at all, and whether he who essays to convince a single Jew is not thereby interfering unlawfully with his punishment. But the fact is, this people will not come over at all; thus by their obstinacy and hostility to Christ, they relieve Christians from having to give any answer to such a question.

Such was the attitude consistently adopted by the Gentile church towards Judaism. Their instinct of self-preservation and their method of justifying their own appropriation of the Old Testament, chimed in with the ancient antipathy felt by the Greeks and Romans to the Jews. Still,[2] it was not everyone who ventured to draw the final conclusions of the epistle of Barnabas (iv. 6 f., xiv. 1 f.). Most people admitted in a hazy way that in earlier days a special relation existed between God and his people, though at the same time all the Old Testament promises were referred even by them to Christian people. While Barnabas saw in the literal observance of the law nothing but a seduction of the devil to which the

[1] Cp. Tertull., *Apol.* xxi.: dispersi, palabundi et soli et caeli sui extorres vagantur per orbem sine homine, sine deo rege, quibus nec advenarum iure terram patriam saltim vestigio salutare conceditur ("Scattered, wanderers, exiles from their own land and clime, they roam through the world without a human or a divine king, without so much as a stranger's right to set foot even in their native land").

[2] For what follows see my *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte,* I.[(3)], pp. 168 f. [Eng. trans., i. 291 f.].

Jewish people had succumbed,[1] the majority saw in circumcision a sign appointed by God;[2] and on the score of certain considerations they recognized that the literal observance of the law was designed and enjoined by God for the time being, although they held that no righteousness ever emanated from it. Still even they saw in the spiritual sense that one true meaning, which by a fault of their own the Jews had misunderstood; they held that the burden of the ceremonial law was an educational necessity, to meet the stubbornness and idolatrous tendencies of the nation (being, in fact, a safeguard of monotheism); and, finally, they interpreted the sign of circumcision in such a way that it appeared no longer as a benefit, but rather as

[1] Cp. Barn. ix. f. The attitude of Barnabas to the Old Testament is radically misunderstood if one imagines that his expositions in vi.–x. can be passed over as the result of oddity and caprice, or set aside as destitute of any moment or method. Not a sentence in this section lacks method, and consequently there is no caprice at all. The strictly spiritual conception of God in Barnabas, and the conviction that all (Jewish) ceremonies are of the devil, rendered his expositions of Scripture a matter of course; so far from being mere ingenious fancies to this author's mind, they were essential to him, unless the Old Testament was to be utterly abandoned. For example, the whole authority of the Old Testament would have collapsed for Barnabas, had he not succeeded in finding some fresh interpretation of the statement that Abraham circumcised his servants. This he manages to do by combining it with another passage from Genesis and thus discovering in the narrative, not circumcision at all, but rather a prophecy of the crucified Christ (ix.).

[2] Barn. ix. 6: ἀλλ' ἐρεῖς· καὶ μὴν περιτέτμηται ὁ λαὸς εἰς σφραγῖδα ("But thou wilt say, this people hath been certainly circumcised for a seal"). This remark is put into the mouth of an ordinary Gentile Christian; the author himself does not agree with it.

a mark of the judgment which was to be executed on Israel.[1]

Israel thus became literally a church which had been through all the ages the inferior or the Satanic church. Even in point of time the "older" people really did not precede the "younger," for the latter was more ancient, and the "new" law was the original law. Nor had the patriarchs, prophets, and men of God, who had been counted worthy of having God's word communicated to them, anything in common inwardly with the Jewish people; they were God's chosen ones who distinguished themselves by a holy conduct corresponding to their election, and they must be regarded as the fathers and forerunners of the latent Christian people.[2] No

[1] Cp. Justin's *Dial.* xvi., xvii., xx., xxx., xl.–xlvi. He lays down these three judgments side by side: (1) that the ceremonial laws were an educational measure on the part of God to counteract the stubbornness of the people who were prone to apostatize; (2) that, as in the case of circumcision, they were meant to differentiate the people in view of the future judgment which was to be executed according to divine appointment; and (3) finally, that the Jewish worship enacted by the ceremonial law exhibited the peculiar depravity and iniquity of the people. Justin, however, viewed the decalogue as the natural law of reason, and therefore as definitely distinct from the ceremonial law.

[2] This is the prevailing view of all the sub-apostolic writers. Christians are the true Israel, so that to them all the honourable titles of the people of Israel appertain. They are the twelve tribes (cp. Jas. i. 1), and thus Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are the fathers of Christians (a conception on which no doubt whatever existed in the Gentile church, and which is not to be traced back altogether to Paul); the men of God in the Old Testament were Christians (cp. Ignat., *ad Magn.*, viii. 2, οἱ προφῆται κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔζησαν, "the prophets lived according to Christ Jesus"). It has also to be observed that a not inconsiderable section of the Christians, viz., the majority of the so-called gnostics and the Marcionites, repudiated

satisfactory answer is given by any of these early Christian writings to the question, How is it to be explained that, if these men must not on any account be regarded as Jews, they nevertheless appeared entirely or almost entirely within the Jewish nation? It was assumed, of course, that God in his mercy meant to bring this wickedest of the nations to the knowledge of the truth by employing the most effective means at his command; but even this suggestion was unavailing.

Such an injustice as that inflicted by the Gentile church on Judaism is almost unprecedented in the annals of history. The Gentile church stripped it of everything; she took away its sacred book; herself but a transformation of Judaism, she cut off all connection with the parent religion. The daughter first robbed her mother, and then repudiated her! But, one may ask, is this view really correct? Undoubtedly it is, to some extent, and it is perhaps impossible to force anyone to give it up. But viewed from a higher standpoint, the facts acquire a different complexion. By their rejection of Jesus, the Jewish people disowned their calling and dealt the death-

the Old Testament along with Judaism (a repudiation to which the epistle of Barnabas approximates very closely, but which it avoids by means of its resolute re-interpretation of the literal sense). These people appear to be the consistent party, yet they were really nothing of the kind; to cut off the Old Testament meant that another fresh historical support must be sought for Christianity, and such a support could not be found except in some other religion or in another system of worship. Marcion alone made the significant attempt to abandon the Old Testament and work *exclusively* with the doctrine and mythology of Paulinism; but the attempt was a failure.

blow to their own existence; their place was taken by Christians as the new People, who appropriated the whole tradition of Judaism, giving a fresh interpretation to any unserviceable materials in it, or else allowing them to drop. As a matter of fact, all this was settled in a way that was not even sudden or unexpected; the unexpected element consisted merely in the particular form which the settlement assumed. All that Gentile Christianity did was to carry out a process which had in fact commenced long before in Judaism itself, viz., the process by which the Jewish religion was inwardly emancipated and transformed into a religion for the world.

About 140 A.D. the transition of Christian missions from Judaism to the "Gentiles" was complete.[1] It was only learned opponents among the Greeks and the Jews themselves, who still reminded Christians that, strictly speaking, they must be Jews. After the fall of Jerusalem there was no longer any Jewish counter-

[1] Forty years later Irenæus was therefore in a position to treat the Old Testament and its real religion with much greater freedom, for by that time Christians had almost ceased to feel their possession of the Old Testament seriously disturbed by Judaism. Thus Irenæus was able even to repeat the admission that the literal observance of the Old Testament in earlier days was right and holy. The Fathers of the ancient Catholic church, who followed him, went still further: on one side they approximated once again to Paulinism; but at the same time, on every possible point, they moved still further away from the apostle than the earlier generations had done, since they understood his anti-legalism even less, and had also to defend the Old Testament against the gnostics. Their candid recognition of a literal sense in the Old Testament was due to the secure consciousness of their own position over against Judaism, but it was the result even more of their growing delight in the laws and the institutions of the Old Testament cultus.

mission,[1] apart from a few local efforts; on the contrary, Christians established themselves in the strongholds hitherto occupied by Jewish propaganda and Jewish proselytes. Japhet occupied the tents of Shem,[2] and Shem had to retire.

One thing, however, remained a perpetual enigma. Why had Jesus appeared among the Jews, instead of among the "nations"? This was a vexing problem. The Fourth Gospel (see above, p. 47), it is important to observe, describes certain Greeks as longing to see Jesus (xii. 20 f.), and the words put into the mouth of Jesus on that occasion[3] are intended as an explanation of the reason why the Saviour did not undertake the Gentile mission. The same evangelist makes Jesus say with the utmost explicitness (x. 16), "And other sheep I have which are not of this fold;

[1] The Jewish mission to the Greeks and Romans steadily waned from the middle of the second century onwards, though it never became quite extinct. The main reason for this cessation of missionary effort lay in the increased rigour with which Judaism treated Hellenism in her own midst, after the second destruction of Jerusalem. Hellenistic Judaism gradually ceased to exist, and with it the Jewish propaganda became confined to the narrowest limits.

[2] The half-finished, hybrid products of the Jewish propaganda throughout the empire were transmuted into independent and attractive forms of religion, far surpassing the synagogues. It was only natural that the former had at once to enter into the keenest conflict with the latter.

[3] "The hour has come for the Son of man to be glorified. Verily, verily, I say to you, unless the grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it abides by itself alone; but if it die, it bears much fruit. . . . A voice then came from heaven, 'I have glorified and I will glorify it again.' . . . Jesus said, 'This voice has come, not for my sake but for yours; now is the judgment of this world, now shall the prince of this world be cast out. *Yet when I am lifted up from the earth, I will draw all men to myself.*'"

them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice." He himself is to bring them. The mission which his disciples carry out, is thus his mission; it is just as if he prolonged his own life.[1] Indeed his own power is still to operate in them, as he is to send them the Holy Spirit to lead them into all the truth, communicating to them a wisdom which had hitherto lain hidden.

One consequence of this attitude of mind was that the Kerugma (or outline and essence of Christian preaching) came to include the despatch of the twelve into all the world—*i.e.*, to include the Gentile mission as a command of Jesus himself. Compare the *Apology* of Aristides (ii.); Just., *Apol.*, I. xxxix.; *Ascens. Isaiae*, iii. 13 f. (where the coming of the

[1] Naturally, there was not entire and universal satisfaction with this explanation. Even legend did not venture in these early days to change the *locale* of Jesus to the midst of paganism, but already Magi from the East were made to come to the child Jesus and worship him, after a star had announced his birth to all the world (Matt. ii.); angels at the birth of Jesus announced tidings of great joy to "all peoples" (Luke ii.); and when that star appeared, says Ignatius (*ad Eph.*, xix.), its appearance certified that "All sorcery was dissolved and every wicked spell vanished, ignorance was overthrown and the old kingdom was destroyed, when God appeared in human guise unto newness of eternal life. Then that which had been prepared within God's counsels began to take effect. Thence were all things perturbed, because the abolition of death was being undertaken" (ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία, καὶ πᾶς δεσμὸς ἠφανίζετο κακίας, ἄγνοια καθῃρεῖτο, παλαιὰ βασιλεία διεφθείρετο, θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου εἰς καινότητα ἀϊδίου ζωῆς· ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐλάμβανεν τὸ παρὰ θεῷ ἀπηρτισμένον. ἔνθεν τὰ πάντα συνεκινεῖτο διὰ τὸ μελετᾶσθαι θανάτου κατάλυσιν). The Christians of Edessa were still more venturesome. They declared in the third century that Jesus had corresponded with their king Abgar, and cured him. Eusebius (*H.E.*, i. *ad fin.*) thought this tale of great importance; it seemed to him a sort of substitute for any direct work of Jesus among pagans.

twelve disciples belongs to the fundamental facts of the gospel); Iren., *Fragm.* 29; Tertull., *Apol.* xxi.; Hippol., *de Antichr.* 61; Orig., *c. Cels.*, III. xxviii.; *Acta Joh.* (ed. Zahn, p. 246): ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀποστολὴν ἐθνῶν, ὁ ἐκπέμψας ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην θεός, ὁ δείξας ἑαυτὸν διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ("the God who chose us to be apostles of the heathen, who sent us out into the world, *who showed himself by the apostles*").[1] Details on this conception of the primitive apostles will be found in Book III.

[1] This idea also contains one of the motives which prompted people to devise tales of apostolic missions.

EXCURSUS.

THE ALLEGED COUNCIL OF THE APOSTLES AT ANTIOCH.

THOUGH the legends of the apostles are as a general rule excluded from the present sketch, I should like at this point to investigate one legend (together with a relevant fragment of unauthentic Acta), partly on account of its special bearing on the problem now before us, partly because it has been neglected in recent works of history, even by those whose duty it was to notice it (*e.g.*, Hefele's *Konziliengeschichte*, Lipsius's *Apok. Apostelsgeschichte*, Kattenbusch's *Apostolische Symbolum*, von Dobschütz's *Christusbilder*, etc.). I refer to the apostolic council at Antioch, and its canons.

So far as we know, it was Innocent I. who, in a letter to Alexander, bishop of Antioch (*Mansi*, iii. p. 1055), first mentioned that the apostles had held a council at Antioch: "Quod [Antiochia] prima primi apostoli sedes esse monstretur, ubi et nomen accepit religio Christiana *et quae conventum apostolorum apud se fieri celeberrimum meruit*" ("Antioch is shown to be the primitive apostolic centre, where the Christian religion got its name, and where it was proper that the famous apostolic council should be

held"). It is plain that he assumes the fact to be well known in the East and West, as well known as the origin of the Christian name in Antioch. By about 400 A.D. the legend, which was supported by Gal. ii. 11 f. and Acts xi. 22 f., must therefore have been widely diffused. It is not easy to say what was the motive which led to its creation. But as it was pretty generally believed about 400 A.D. that not only one but two or more apostolic councils were held in Jerusalem,[1] the transference of one council to Antioch cannot have been due to anything but a tendency to bring the primitive apostles into closer relations with the Gentile church. What other reason was there for altering the generally accepted scene of the labours of the twelve apostles, as a collective body? If this be the motive which led to the formation of the legend, it may well proceed from a comparatively early age.

We meet but one other notice of this alleged council in Christian literature. The Acts of the second Nicene Council of 787 A.D. (*Mansi*, xii. p. 1018) narrate how Gregory Pis. explained to that Synod that ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ἀντιοχείαν συνόδῳ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων εἴρηται "τοῦ μηκέτι πλανᾶσθαι εἰς τὰ εἴδωλα τοὺς σωζομένους, ἀλλ' ἀντεικονίζειν τὴν θεανδρικὴν ἄχραντον στήλην τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ." Gregory thus knew and quoted

[1] (1) The council at which the world was divided by lot among the apostles, and the apostolic Symbol composed; (2) the council or councils at which the united διαταγαί or ὅροι of the apostles were drawn up (compare also the ὅρος κανονικὸς τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων printed in Bickell's *Gesch. d. Kirchenrecht*, i. 1843, pp. 133 f.). Eusebius (*H.E.*, iii. 11) knew of an apostolic council outside Jerusalem held immediately after the death of James, at which Symeon was chosen to succeed him as bishop.

regular written canons of this alleged council of the apostles at Antioch. No doubt, from the sample given by Gregory, they might excite the suspicion of having been manufactured in the eighth century by those who advocated images; the citation leaves it undecided whether or no these canons were in existence as early as the time of Innocent I.[1]

In the sixteenth century Turrianus discovered in a Greek manuscript the Acts quoted by Gregory, and edited an epitome of them in Latin (with some fragments in the original) in 1573.[2] This manuscript, so far as I am aware, has never come to light, but Bickell found the Acts in *Monac. Gr.* 380 (fourteenth century), and edited them in his *Kirchenrecht* (i. pp. 151 f., 138 f.).[3] As they are of some interest for our present study and of no great size, I shall print them here.[4]

[1] Gregory was not contradicted at the council on the question of the genuineness and authority of these canons; on the contrary, the remark made by bishop Leo of Rhodes immediately afterwards, shows that the words were considered apostolic. The council must therefore have been acknowledged in the East at that time, together with its canons.

[2] Turrian., *pro canon apost.*, i. 25 (printed in Baronius, *ad ann.* 102, Mansi, i. 67, Fabricius, *Cod. apokr. N.T.*, ii. 336 f., and Fabricius-Harless, *Bibl.*, xii. pp. 153 f.). Turrianus says distinctly: "Hos ego canones concise et in epitome, quasi indices quosdam, gratia brevitatis describam."

[3] The canons are not included in any Eastern collection of ecclesiastical laws, though other "apostolic" material, as everyone knows, is preserved in such quarters.

[4] So far as I know, they have never been reprinted since. In Turrianus (*i.e.*, in the codex which he discovered) the order of the canons is slightly different; he numbers 4 and 5 as 8 and 9. Something can be said in favour of both orders. The canons against idolatrous images and Jewish regulations about food have

Τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Παμφίλου ἐκ τῆς ἐν
Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῶν ἀποστόλων συνόδου, τουτέστιν
ἐκ τῶν συνοδικῶν αὐτῶν κανόνων μέρος τῶν
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εὑρεθέντων εἰς τὴν Ὠριγένους βιβλιοθήκην.[1]

α'. Μετὰ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ[2] ἀνάστασίν τε καὶ ἀνάληψιν τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν[3] πιστεύοντας Γαλιλαίους ἐκάλουν οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι.[4] συνοδεύσαντες οὖν οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας ἐχρημάτισαν τοὺς Γαλιλαίους Χριστιανοὺς ἐν πρώτοις ὀνομάζεσθαι[5] καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον, βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα[6] κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος, ἐπωνυμίαν.[7]

β'. Τοῦ μὴ περιτέμνεσθαι τοὺς βαπτιζομένους κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθεσίαν, ὡς τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος ὄντος περιτομῆς ἀχειροποιήτου ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει[8] τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀνθρώπου[9] ἀποβαλόντος τὴν παλαιότητα τῆς ἁμαρτίας.[10]

γ'. Τοῦ εἰσδέχεσθαι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ γένους τοὺς σωζομένους ἐν τῇ ὀρθοδόξῳ πίστει καὶ τοῦ κηρυχθῆναι εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη[11] τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας.

δ'. Τοῦ μὴ φιλαργυρεῖν[12] Χριστιανούς, τοῦ κυρίου λέξαντος,[13]

a good connection with the canon which contains the regulations of Acts xv. 29; but they fit in also with canon 3 (cp. also the οἱ σωζόμενοι in canons 3 and 8). I retain the order of Turrianus, without laying any stress on it, however.

[1] Turrianus also gives this passage in Greek, literally in the same words—down to ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, which he omits.

[2] Tit. ii. 13.

[3] Ms. αὐτούς.

[4] Acts ii. 7.

[5] Acts xi. 26.

[6] 1 Pet. ii. 9.

[7] This word is in apposition; it opposes ἐν πρώτοις. We are not to translate, therefore, with Bickell, "they enacted first of all that the Galileans were to be called Christians"—but, "they enacted that the Galileans should be termed Christians first of all (*i.e.*, as their chief name) and holy people, a royal priesthood, by the grace of holy baptism, as a surname."

[8] Coloss. ii. 11.

[9] Coloss. iii. 9.

[10] Rom. vii. 6.

[11] Matt. xxviii. 19, Mk. xvi. 15.

[12] 1 Tim. vi. 10.

[13] Matt. vi. 19.

μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σὴς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζει, καὶ μάλιστα ἐξ ἀδίκων[1] πόρων· γέγραπται γάρ·[2] οὐδεὶς δύναται[3] δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν, καὶ οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ.

ε'. Τοῦ μὴ ἐμπαθῶς ἔχειν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἕνεκεν γαστριμαργίας καὶ τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι ἀσελγῶν θεάτρων καὶ μήτε ὀμνύειν προπετῶς, τοῦ κυρίου λέξαντος[4] μὴ ὀμόσαι ὅλως, μήτε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὅτι θρόνος ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, μήτε ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὅτι ὑποπόδιόν ἐστι τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, μήτε εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὅτι πόλις ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, μήτε ἐν κεφαλῇ σοῦ ὀμόσῃς, ὅτι οὐ δύνασαι μίαν τρίχα λευκὴν ἢ μέλαιναν ποιῆσαι· ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν ναὶ ναί, οὒ οὔ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐστιν.

ς'. Τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι πάντας Χριστιανοὺς εὐτραπελίας,[5] αἰσχρολογίας,[6] καὶ βλασφημίας[7] καὶ ὅσα ἐθνικὰ ἔθη. καὶ μὴ συνομοιοῦσθαι αὐτοῖς[8] πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀπατηθῆναι τοὺς ἁπλουστέρους.

ζ'. Τοῦ μὴ φαγεῖν Χριστιανοὺς αἷμα ἀλλ' ἀπέχεσθαι αἵματος καὶ πνικτοῦ καὶ πορνείας.[9]

η'. Τοῦ μηκέτι[10] πλανᾶσθαι τοὺς σωζομένους εἰς τὰ εἴδωλα[11] ἀλλ' ἀντεικονίζειν τὴν θεανδρικὴν ἄχραντον ἀχειροποίητον[12] στήλην τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ καὶ[13] σωτῆρος[14] ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

[1] Luke xvi. 11.
[2] Matt. vi. 24.
[3] Ms. δύνασθαι.
[4] Matt. v. 34–37.
[5] Ephes. v. 4.
[6] Col. iii. 8.
[7] Col. iii. 8.
[8] Ms. αὐτούς.
[9] Acts xv. 29: omitting εἰδωλοθύτων.
[10] Cod. Turr., μή.
[11] Greg. Pis., εἰς τὰ εἰδ. τ. σωζ.
[12] In Cod. Turr., χειροποίητον; in *Monac.* also the α has been subsequently deleted. The word does not occur in the citation of Greg. Pis. The first-named variant and the deletion of α are inexplicable. But they may be a Western protest against the Ἀχειροποίηται of the East, to whom—erroneously, as will be shown — the passage was by a misinterpretation supposed to refer.
[13] Greg. Pis. omits ἀληθ. θ. καὶ.
[14] κυρίου, Greg. Pis.

καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ θεραπόντων[1] ἀντικρὺ τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ Ἰουδαίων, καὶ μηκέτι πλανᾶσθαι εἰς εἴδωλα μηδὲ ὁμοιοῦσθαι Ἰουδαίοις.[2]

Θ'. Τὸ[3] μὴ ἐξομοιοῦσθαι Χριστιανοὺς Ἰουδαίοις ἕνεκεν ἀποχῆς βρωμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑείων ἀπογεύεσθαι, τοῦ κυρίου θεσπίσαντος[4] ὅτι τὰ εἰσπορευόμενα εἰς τὸ στόμα οὐ κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος, ὡς ἐκ τῆς καρδίας ἐξερχόμενα. καὶ ἵνα μὴ κατὰ γράμμα ἀκολουθῇ ἀλλὰ πνευματικῶς καὶ ἀναγωγικῶς πολιτεύηται· ἡ γὰρ κτηνώδης συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν μὲν ὗν[5] βδελύσσεται, τῇ δὲ πονηρίᾳ συνέχεται κατὰ τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον[6]· ὅτε ἐχορτάσθησαν ὑείων καὶ ἀφῆκαν[7] τὰ κατάλοιπα τοῖς νηπίοις αὐτῶν[8]· ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν ὀστρακοδέρμων καὶ ἀλεπιδώτων ἰχθύων ἀκώλυτον τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἀπογεύεσθαι[9]· νοεῖται γὰρ καὶ οὕτως πνευματικῶς τὴν ἀσύνετον αὐτῶν καρδίαν ὀστράκου δίκην ἀποβαλλομένων[10] τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματα αἰνιττόμενος.

(1) One might guess that the Acts of an apostolic council which is supposed to meet in Antioch would present the apostles in some relationship to Gentile Christians; and such a conjecture is endorsed by these Acts, which give the directions or principles of the primitive apostles with regard to the Gentile mission.

(2) The Acts are for the most part a cento of

[1] Only once in the N.T. (Heb. iii. 5), and there applied to Moses.

[2] Greg. Pis. omits *καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ θερ.* and all that follows.

[3] Read *τοῦ*.

[4] Matt. xv. 11, 17 (rather freely quoted).

[5] Turr., *τὴν ὗν*.

[6] The following quotation has not hitherto been verified.

[7] Turr., *ἀφῆκεν*.

[8] So Turr.; in *Monac.*, *τῆς νηπείας* with no *αὐτῶν*.

[9] Turr., *ὀστρακόδερμον καὶ ἀλεπίδωτον ἰχθύν* and (instead of *ἀπογεύεσθαι*) *εἶναι εἰς τὸ ἀπογ.*

[10] Turr., *ἀποβάλλεσθαι*.

passages from, and reminiscences of, the New Testament writings; their unauthentic character (if one need waste any words about the matter) is consequently beyond doubt.

(3) The inscription also is a forgery; it presents what follows as an extract from the Acts of the Antiochene synod, declaring that in the complete Acts it was remarked that they had been found by the holy martyr Pamphilus in the library of Origen. Manuscripts bearing such a note, or something very like it, are still extant. The forger was acquainted with such documents, and imitated them. The Acts simply cannot have been written previous to Origen or Eusebius, for these authors would certainly have noticed them, had they lain in their libraries. This becomes evident in the case of Eusebius particularly, who writes (*H.E.*, iii. 11): "After the martyrdom of James and the conquest of Jerusalem, which followed very soon, it is said that the surviving apostles and disciples of the Lord assembled from all quarters along with those who were relatives of the Lord according to the flesh . . . . in order to take counsel as to who was worthy to succeed James," etc. Eusebius therefore knew a report which he considered reliable (for such is the meaning of λόγος κατέχει in his work), to the effect that after 70 A.D. the apostles held yet another council outside Jerusalem. He does not know the place of meeting, and he is not aware of any object of the gathering save that of filling up the place of James. This assembly cannot be identified with the alleged apostolic synod at Antioch; for, as the canons show, that synod is supposed to have occurred at the beginning of the

apostolic age, nor had it anything to do with filling up the bishopric of Jerusalem. At the very earliest, then, our Acts must be dated from the fourth century.[1]

(4) Before attempting to determine the object, age, and place of this forgery, we must investigate the unity and integrity of the Acts. At the very outset, they arouse some suspicion. In the first place, one might be inclined to take canons 8 and 9 as a later addition, since they alter their position in the manuscripts. But against this it is to be observed that in form and contents they are homogeneous with the rest, and that they contain identical words and ideas (cp. *οἱ σῳζόμενοι* in 8 and 3, *ἀποβάλλειν* in 9 and 2, *ἀχειροποίητος* in 9 and 2, *τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματα* in 9 and *ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀληθείας* in 3, *ὁμοιοῦσθαι* and *ἐξομοιοῦσθαι* in 8 and 9 with *συνομοιοῦσθαι* in 6). Secondly, one might conjecture that canon 1 was not added until a later date, since in form it differs from the others, being, in fact, not a canon at all, but a statement. Still, in the inscription, the contents are really not announced as "the canons of Antioch," but as *μέρος ἐκ τῶν συνοδικῶν κανόνων*, and this description is quite adequate to cover the wording of the opening section. Besides, it has the expression *ὁ μέγας θεὸς καὶ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν* Ἰ. Χ*ρίστος*, to which there is quite a parallel in the *ὁ ἀληθινὸς θεὸς καὶ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν* Ἰ.

[1] This is corroborated by the expression *σώζεσθαι ἐν τῇ ὀρθοδόξῳ πίστει* (canon 3), which was not in use, so far as I know, in the third century. The use of the phrase *θεανδρικὴ στήλη, κ.τ.λ.* (canon 8), does not exactly tell in favour of the third century, and finally the expression used in canon 9 for the spiritual sense of scripture (*πνευμ. καὶ ἀναγ. πολιτεύεσθαι*) betrays a later age.

X. of canon 8. Thirdly and lastly, one might assume that a still older form of canon 8 was known to Greg. Pis., as he does not quote it beyond the words Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, omits ἀχειροποίητον altogether, and merely writes τ. κυρίου ἡμ. Ἰ. Χριστοῦ, instead of the ampler designation of Christ in the extant canon. But, as for the first of these points, it cannot be proved that Gregory had not read the conclusion of the canon; the first part was quite sufficient for his purpose.[1] Then the originality of ἀχειροποίητον is rendered highly probable by canon 2; Gregory omitted it, as he was quoting, of course, from memory. The same may be said of the third point (the accidental or intentional abbreviation). Moreover, as I have shown, the ample designation of Jesus is supported by canon 1.

(5) No doubts need therefore be entertained as to the integrity of the Acts, as they are extant in our manuscripts. We pass now to their object. Here is a preliminary note of their contents:—

1. Historical introduction: the apostles enjoin that those who were formerly called Galileans are to be named "Christians."[2]

[1] Still the words καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ θεραπόντων are certainly as suspicious as what follows (see below).

[2] According to sound exegesis, the sense and letter alike of the Book of Acts are contradicted by the statement that the name of "Christian" was given by the apostles; but, according to the exegesis of the ancient church, there was no contradiction, as Acts did not distinctly state who gave the name. It was plainly of interest to our author to establish the fact that the most holy name of "Christian" was not a creation of pagans, but of the apostles. To this all the subsequent contents of the Acts are secondary. In writing οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι, the author forgot his part, even granting that he had not undertaken to do more than give an extract.—As

2. Circumcision is to be abjured: baptism alone is of value.
3. Believers are to be received from all nations, and to all nations is the word of truth to be preached.
4. Christians are not to be greedy for money.
5. Christians are to abjure gluttony, loose plays, and hasty oaths.
6. Christians are to refrain from buffoonery, obscenity, blasphemy, and pagan manners.
7. Christians are to refrain from tasting blood, from what had been strangled, and from fornication.
8. They are to abandon the errors of idolatry.
9. They are to give up observing Jewish regulations about food.

This survey shows that we are dealing here with the simplest principles of missionary labour among the pagans, principles which are drawn from the New Testament. It is a brief counsel, really containing all that absolutely needed to be said upon the matter, and furnished with chosen and appropriate words of the Lord, and with reminiscences from the apostolic epistles. Since the second (Didachê), and still more since the third and the fourth century, as much as possible had been put under the ægis of the apostles, and shaped into definite apostolic command-

for the origin of the Christian name which is propounded here, it is to be noted that Eusebius (*H.E.*, ii. 3. 3) declares the name was given at Antioch, *ὥσπερ ἀπ' εὐθαλοῦς καὶ γονίμου πηγῆς*. This is one step on the road to our author's assertion. Even Eusebius will not hear of the name having been of lowly origin, *humili loco natum*. (Details on this point follow in Book III.)

ments, so that, in the light of this practice, our canons of an apostolic synod seem almost innocuous, containing as they do (apart from the naïve notion of canon 1) directions which were actually apostolic. But the need of drawing up *this* collection and stamping it as apostolic, must have emerged at a period when missionary energy had sprung up afresh, when the common people were pouring into the church, and when there was a risk of injury being done even to the most essential and important elements of Christianity amid an influx of the masses.[1] In all directions throughout the church the customs of the heathen (ἐθνικὰ ἔθη) had to be opposed (canon 6), "that simple folk be not led away." The practical aim of this is quite obvious, and in canons 2, 8, and 9 Judaism also seems still to be a dangerous force. The anti-Judaism of the author is most evident; he speaks of "the bestial synagogue of the Jews."

(6) As for the time of composition, we have already shown that the first three centuries are out of the question—the underlying conception being undoubtedly post-Eusebian, as several expressions prove, which, it can be shown, were not current before the fourth century. On the other hand, the following considerations favour a date within the limits of the fourth century itself. Pope Innocent, by whom the Antiochene synod is first mentioned, writes thus (see above): "Quod Antiochia prima primis apostoli sedes esse monstretur, ubi et nomen accepit religio Christiana et quae *conventum apostolorum* apud se fieri *celeberrimum* meruit." If he knew of an assembly of the apostles at Antioch, an assembly too

[1] Certainly we have not to do with a mere *lusus ingenii* here.

which was "celeberrimus," he must have known something about this assembly. The simplest hypothesis is that he was acquainted with the forged Acts now before us, and this is rendered more probable than ever by the fact that he appends the mention of the council to the remark that believers were first called "Christians" at Antioch. In our Acts, at any rate, the canons are prefaced by this statement. Furthermore, our Acts (setting aside canon 8 in the meantime) are not merely destitute of any element that forbids us to locate them in the fourth century, but appear to point directly to that century as their period, since they originate (as we have seen) in an age of some great missionary movement, when the distinctions of Christian and pagan threatened to become obliterated. In favour of this view we may observe that the Acts give "Galileans" as the oldest name of the Christians, a name which was conferred by "the men of that day" (*i.e.*, *by opponents*), but is now held to be solemnly superseded by the title "Christians." This looks like a distinct protest against Julian's mocking epithet of "Galileans," and it is from this standpoint that the author's wrath against the Jews becomes intelligible. A specially apt situation for our Acts is therefore to be found in the second half of the fourth century, in the age of Gratian and Theodosius; apart from canon 8, we cannot find anything in their contents which would preclude this view—suggested as it is by the words of Innocent.[1]

[1] It is very remarkable that in recapitulating the apostolic decree of Acts xv., canon 7 entirely omits the eating of flesh offered to idols. Is this accidental, or had the eating of such

(7) But does not canon 8 point to a much later age? Does it not support the adoration of images? Such is the view of all those who have hitherto worked at these canons. I cannot agree with them, however, on this point. The canon runs thus:—

"Saved people are no longer to go astray to idols, but, on the contrary, to fashion[1] for themselves, as their image, that divine and human, that flawless pillar, not made with hands, of Jesus Christ, the true God and our Saviour, and of his servants, in contrast to idols and to Jews alike; they are no longer to go astray to idols or to copy the Jews."

Gregory Pis. certainly adduced this passage as an argument for images, but how many passages from the Bible, from synodical proceedings, and from the writings of the Fathers, were adduced by advocates of images, which contained absolutely nothing about adoration of images! It seems to me beyond doubt that adoration of images is not the subject of our present canon. Why, the author employs a term (στήλη) which makes it quite clear that he is speaking in a figurative sense! Or are we to suppose he means that Christians are to make themselves a pillar, *i.e.*, a statue of Jesus Christ? This practice, as everyone knows, has been consistently repudiated by image-worshippers in the East. Nor does the text of the canon enjoin people to make a pillar of Jesus Christ, but "to fashion for themselves as their image the pillar of

flesh ceased to be a danger by the time that the author wrote these Acts, since bloody sacrifices had entirely ceased in public? In the latter event it would still be unnecessary to remove our writing from the fourth century.

[1] Ἀντεικονίζειν is unknown to the Greek lexicons.

Jesus Christ." Now, what does this mean? I confess I do not quite understand the expression, particularly in its expanded form of "the pillar of our Saviour *and his servants.*" But so much is clear, at any rate, viz., that *the pillar is Jesus Christ himself* (cp. 1 Cor. x. 4: ἡ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός),[1] since it is described as "divine and human, flawless, and not made with hands." The writer says στήλη Ἰ. Χριστοῦ, instead of Jesus Christ himself, probably because he is dealing in this canon with idols, to which he opposes Jesus Christ as the pillar, the true image which one is to reproduce—in the heart, of course. Even in the fourth century and earlier, images of Jesus and the apostles were certainly in existence, while at Paneas there was actually a statue which passed for Jesus Christ (Eus., *H.E.*, vii. 18). But our canon is not referring to these at all. If the author had intended to say that people were to furnish themselves with images of Jesus rather than with heathen idols, he would not have expressed himself as clumsily, as unintelligibly, and as incorrectly (from the grammatical standpoint) as possible. Besides, such a bare antithesis as "Construct images of Christ instead of idols," is an unheard-of thing in any

[1] Hence I can hardly accept as genuine the phrase καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ θεραπόντων, which is preserved in both codices, but not by Gregory. Were it genuine, it would describe the disciples as constituting, along with Christ, one divine and human flawless pillar, etc. This is an impossible sense. To supply τὰς στήλας before τῶν αὐτοῦ θεραπόντων is in itself a difficulty. Besides, the predicates θεανδρική, etc., are plainly intended to go very closely with στήλη. The phrase, then, is a gloss, or else the text is corrupt. Even the following words also excite suspicion, in the first place on the score of the rare collocation, τὰ εἴδωλα καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, and in the second place on account of the repetition in καὶ μηκέτι πλανᾶσθαι εἰς εἴδωλα μηδὲ ὁμοιοῦσθαι Ἰουδαίοις.

age. Nor would it suit the context of our Acts, which go straight to the point, and, at the same time, adhere to the spiritual method of exegesis in canons 2 and 9 (baptism being the circumcision not made with hands, Jewish laws of diet being understood πνευματικῶς and ἀναγωγικῶς, and the Jews being "a bestial synagogue" on account of the literal interpretation they give to everything in their καρδία ἀσύνετος). What the author means is that Christians are to fashion for themselves *spiritually* as their image that pillar which is Christ.[1]

As for the expression ἀχειροποίητος, von Dobschütz (*Christusbilder*, pp. 37 f., 118*–122*) has shown how early it began to be discussed within the church; cp. especially the controversy on the term between Methodius and the spiritualizing followers of Origen, at the close of the third century (Method., *de resurr.*, xv. 3–6). The ἀχειροποίητος στήλη of our canons has of course nothing to do with the στῦλος ἀχειροποίητος (Dobschütz, pp. 38, 118*). Here Jesus is called ἀχειροποίητος in virtue of the attributes of θεανδρικός. The word denotes the fact that he was not created. "Ἀχειροποίητε τῶν μαρτύρων στέφανε, κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ," is the prayer of St Barbara (in Joh. Damasc., *Le Quien*, ii. p. 905.)

Nothing is known of the place at which these Acts were forged. Naturally, one is inclined to think of

[1] Bickell and other writers, in support of their view that the canon is a command for the adoration of images, appeal to the closing words of warning against the Jews, which signify here (in their opinion) a warning against the Jewish aversion to images! Had this been the author's meaning, he would surely have expressed himself otherwise. Certainly he would have made an ampler statement. His meaning, of course, is that one is not to resemble the Jews, who constantly lapsed into idolatry.

Antioch or its vicinity, as elsewhere no one would have any interest in presenting Antioch with an apostolic council. The forgery must have temporarily enjoyed a certain diffusion and repute if it got the length of Rome, but it really never circulated throughout the church. It managed to exist in a subterranean fashion, till suddenly it sprang to light at the second Nicene Council, only to disappear once more.

Though the forged canons of this apostolic synod at Antioch do not therefore belong to the first three centuries, they define, not unskilfully, the guiding principles of missionary preaching among pagans.[1] They possess a higher claim to the title of "apostolic" canons than many Acts which are cited at the present day under this sobriquet. It will always remain a noteworthy fact that towards the close of the fourth century, during the epoch of orthodoxy, canons like these could be drawn up and located in the primitive age of the church, canons which did not enter into any question of Christian dogma.

[1] Naturally, they are pretty colourless. One is almost reminded of the compiling of the false epistle to the Laodiceans.

BOOK II.

THE MISSION-PREACHING IN WORD AND DEED.

CHAPTER I.

THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MISSION-PREACHING.

The unity and the variety native to the preaching of Christianity from the very first were what constituted the secret of its fascination and a vital condition of its success. On the one hand, it was so simple that it could be summed up in a few brief sentences and understood in a single crisis of the inner life; on the other hand, it was so versatile and rich, that it vivified all thought and stimulated every emotion. It was capable, almost from the outset, of vieing with every noble and worthy enterprise, with any speculation, or with any cult of the mysteries. It was both new and old; it was both present and future. Clear and transparent, it was also profound and full of mystery. It had statutes, and yet rose superior to any law. It was a doctrine and yet no doctrine, a philosophy and yet something different from philosophy. Western Catholicism,

when surveyed as a whole, has been described as a *complexio oppositorum*, but this was also true of the Christian propaganda as far back as the earliest period of its existence. Consequently, to exhibit the preaching and labours of the Christian mission with the object of explaining the amazing success of Christianity, we must try to get a uniform grasp of all its component factors.

We shall proceed then to describe:—

1. The religious characteristics of the mission-preaching.
2. The gospel of salvation and of the Saviour.
3. The gospel of love and charity.
4. The religion of the Spirit and power, of moral earnestness and holiness.
5. The religion of authority and of reason, of mysteries and transcendentalism.
6. The tidings of a new People and of a Third race (or the historical and political consciousness of Christendom).
7. The religion of a Book, and of a history realized.
8. The conflict with polytheism and idolatry.

In the course of all these chapters we hope to do justice to the wealth of the religion, without impairing or obscuring its power of simplicity.[1] One point must of course be passed over: that is, the task of following the development of Christian doctrine

[1] At the Scilitan martyrdom the proconsul remarks: "Simplex est religio nostra" ("our religion is simple"). To which Speratus the Christian replies: "Si tranquillas praebueris aures tuas, dico mysterium simplicitatis" ("If you give me a quiet hearing, I shall tell you the mystery of simplicity").

into the completed doctrine of the church's catechism, as well as into the Christian philosophy of religion propounded by Origen and his school. Doctrine, in either of these forms, was unquestionably of great moment to the mission of Christianity, particularly after the date of its earliest definition (relatively speaking) about the middle of the third century. But such a subject would require a book to itself. I have endeavoured, in the first volume of my *History of Dogma* (third edition), to meet this need, and to that work I must refer any who desire to see how the unavoidable gaps of the present volume are to be filled up.

"Missionary preaching" is a term which may be taken in a double sense. In its broader meaning it covers all the forces of influence, attraction, and persuasion, which the gospel had at its command, all the materials that it collected and endowed with life and power as it developed into a syncretistic religion during the first three centuries. In the narrower sense of the term it embraces simply the crucial message of faith and the ethical requirements of the gospel. Taking it in the latter sense, we shall devote the present chapter to a description of the characteristic principles of the missionary preaching. The broader conception has a wide range. The Old Testament and the new literature of Christianity, healing and redemption, gnosis and apologetic, myth and sacrament, the conquest of demons, forms of social organization and charity—all these played their part in the mission preaching and helped to render it impressive and convincing. Even in the narrower

sense of the term, the description of the mission-preaching must be kept within bounds, for the conception of the crucial message of faith and of ethical requirements depended naturally upon the development of dogma, and the latter (as I have already remarked) cannot be exhibited without overstepping the precincts of the present volume. At the same time, these limitations are not very serious, since, to the best of our knowledge, mission-preaching (in the narrower sense of the term) was fairly extinct after the close of the second century. Its place was taken by the instruction of catechumens, and by the training of the household in and for the Christian faith. Finally, we must eschew the error of imagining that everyone who came over to Christianity was won by the complete principles of a missionary propaganda. So far as our sources throw light on this point, they reveal a very different state of things, and this applies even to the entire period preceding Constantine. In countless instances, it was but one ray of light that wrought the change. One person would be brought over by means of the Old Testament, another by the exorcising of demons, a third by the purity of Christian life; others, again, by the monotheism of Christianity, or by the prospect which it held out of immortality, or by the profundity of its speculations, or by the social standing which it conferred. In the great majority of cases one believer may well have produced another, just as one prophet anointed his successor; example (not confined to the case of the martyrs) and the *personal* manifestation of the Christian life led to imitation (details on this point below). A complete knowledge

of Christian doctrine, which was still a plant of very tender growth in the second century, was certainly the attainment of a small minority. "Idiotae, quorum semper maior pars est," says Tertullian ("The uneducated are always in a majority with us"). Hippolytus bewails the ignorance of the very bishops. Even the knowledge of the Scriptures remained of necessity the privilege of an individual here and there, owing to their extensiveness and the difficulty of understanding them.[1]

The earliest mission-preaching to Jews ran thus: "The kingdom of God is at hand; repent."[2] The Jews thought they knew what was the meaning of the kingdom of heaven and of its advent; but they had to learn the meaning of the repentance that secured the higher righteousness, so that "God's kingdom" also acquired a sense which was materially different from the old.

The second stage in the mission-preaching to Jews was determined by this tenet: "The risen[3] Jesus is the Messiah [cp. Matt. x. 32], and will return from heaven to establish his kingdom."

The third stage was marked by the examination of the Old Testament as a whole (*i.e.*, the law and

[1] Bishops and theologians, in the West especially, are always bewailing the defective knowledge of the Bible among the laity, and even among the clergy. Cp. also Clemens Alexandrinus.

[2] The earliest mission-preaching (Matt. x. 7 f.), with which the disciples of Jesus were charged, ran: *κηρύσσετε λέγοντες ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.* Although repentance is not actually mentioned, it is to be supplied from other passages. The prospect of power to do works of healing is also held out to them (*ἀσθενοῦντας θεραπεύετε, νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε, λεπροὺς καθαρίζετε, δαιμόνια ἐκβάλλετε*).

[3] Cp. the confession of the resurrection common to primitive Christianity, in 1 Cor. xv. 4 f.

the prophets) from the standpoint of its fulfilment in Jesus Christ, along with the accompanying need of securing and of formulating that inwardness of disposition and moral principle which members of the messianic church, who were called and kept by the Holy Spirit, knew to be their duty.[1] This must have made them realize that the observance of the law, which had hitherto prevailed, was inadequate either to cancel sin or to gain righteousness; also that Jesus the Messiah had died that sins might be forgiven (*γνωστὸν ἔστω ὑμῖν, ὅτι διὰ τούτου*

[1] To "imitate" or "be like" Christ, did not occupy the place one would expect among the ethical counsels of the age. Jesus had spoken of imitating God and bidden men follow himself, whilst the relationship of pupil and teacher readily suggested the formula of imitation. But whenever he was recognized as Messiah, as the Son of God, as Saviour and as Judge, the ideas of imitation and likeness had to give way, although the apostles still continued to urge both in their epistles, and to hold up the mind, the labours, and the sufferings of Jesus as an example. In the early church the imitation of Christ never became a formal principle of ethics (to use a modern phrase) except for the virtuoso in religion, the ecclesiastic, the teacher, the ascetic, or the martyr; it played quite a subordinate part in the ethical teaching of the church. The injunction to be like Christ, in the strict sense of the term, also occurred with comparative rarity. Still, it is interesting to collect and examine the passages relative to this point; they show that whilst a parallel was fully drawn between the life of Christ and the career and conduct of distinguished Christians such as the emperors, the early church did not go the length of drawing up general regulations with regard to the imitation of Christ. For one thing, the Christology stood in the way, involving not imitation but obedience; for another thing, the actual details of imitation seemed too severe. Those who made the attempt were always classed as Christians of a higher order (though even at this early period they were warned against presumption), so that the Catholic theory of "evangelic counsels" has quite a primitive root.

ὑμῖν ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν καταγγέλλεται ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε ἐν ὁμῳ Μωϋσέως δικαιωθῆαι).[1]

"You know that when you were pagans you were led away to dumb idols" (1 Cor. xii. 2). "You turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, even Jesus, who delivers us from the wrath to come" (1 Thess. i. 9, 10). Here we have the mission-preaching to pagans in a nutshell. The "living and true God" is the first and final thing; the second is Jesus, the Son of God, the judge, who secures us against the wrath to come, and is therefore "Jesus the Lord." To the living God, who is now made known, we owe faith and devoted service; to God's Son as *Lord*, our due is faith and hope.[2]

[1] Acts xiii. 38; up to this point, I think, the Jewish Christian view is clearly stated in this address of Paul at Antioch, but the further development of the idea (ἐν τούτῳ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων δικαιοῦται, "by whom everyone who believes is justified") is specifically Pauline. Taken as a whole, however, the speech affords a fine example of missionary preaching to the Jews. From 1 Cor. xv. 3 it follows that the tenet, "Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures," was not simply Pauline, but common to Christianity in general. Weizsäcker (*op. cit.*, pp. 60 f.; Eng. trans., i. 74 f.) rightly lays great stress on the fact that previous to Paul and alongside of him, even within Jewish Christian circles (as in the case of Peter), the view must have prevailed that the law and its observance were not perfectly adequate to justification before God, and that a soteriological significance attached to Jesus the Messiah or to his death.

[2] When questioned upon the "dogma" of Christians, Justin answered: ὅπερ εὐσεβοῦμεν εἰς τὸν τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεόν, ὃν ἡγούμεθα ἕνα τοῦτον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ποιητὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῆς πάσης κτίσεως, ὁρατῆς τε καὶ ἀοράτου, καὶ κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν παῖδα θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ προκεκή-

The contents of this brief message—objective and subjective, positive and negative—are inexhaustible. Yet the message itself is thoroughly compact and complete. It is objective and positive as the message of the only God, who is spiritual, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, the creator of heaven and earth, the Lord and Father of men, and the great disposer of human history;[1] furthermore, it is the message which tells of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who came from heaven, made known the Father, died for sins, rose, sent the Spirit hither, and from his seat at God's right hand will return *for the judgment*;[2] finally, it is the message of salvation

ρυκται ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν μέλλων παραγίνεσθαι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας κήρυξ καὶ διδάσκαλος καλῶν μαθητῶν (*Acta Just.*, i.) ("It is that whereby we worship the God of the Christians, whom we consider to be One from the beginning, the maker and fashioner of the whole creation, visible and invisible, and also the Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom the prophets foretold would come to the race of men, a herald of salvation and a teacher of good disciples").

[1] In this respect the speech put by Luke into the mouth of Paul at the Areopagus is typical and especially instructive. It exhibits, at the same time, an alliance with the purest conceptions of Hellenism. The characteristic principles of the mission-preaching (both negative and positive) are also preserved, with particular lucidity, in the fragmentary *Kerugma Petri*, an early composition which, as the very title indicates, was plainly meant to be a compendium of doctrine for missionary purposes.

[2] Thaddaeus announces to Abgar a missionary address for the next day, and gives the following preliminary outline of its contents (Eus., *H.E.*, i. 13): κηρύξω καὶ σπερῶ τὸν λόγον τῆς ζωῆς, περὶ τε τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καθὼς ἐγένετο, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἕνεκα τίνος ἀπεστάλη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ μυστηρίων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ ποίᾳ δυνάμει ταῦτα ἐποίει, καὶ περὶ τῆς καινῆς αὐτοῦ κηρύξεως, καὶ περὶ τῆς μικρότητος, καὶ περὶ τῆς ταπεινώσεως, καὶ πῶς ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀπέθετο καὶ ἐσμί-

brought by Jesus the saviour, that is, freedom from the tyranny of demons, sin, and death, together with the gift of life eternal.

Then it is objective and negative, inasmuch as it announces the vanity of all other gods, and forms a protest against idols of gold and silver and wood, as well as against blind fate and atheism.

Finally, it is subjective, as it declares the uselessness of all sacrifice, all temples, and all worship of man's devising, and opposes to these the worship of God in spirit and in truth, assurance of faith, holiness and self-control, love and brotherliness, and lastly the solid certainty of the resurrection and of life eternal, implying the futility of a present life which lies exposed to future judgment.

To wide circles this message of the one and almighty God no longer came as a surprise. It was the reverse of a surprise. What they had vaguely divined, seemed now to be firmly and gloriously realized. At the same time, as "Jesus and the Resurrection" were taken for new dæmons in Athens (according to Acts xvii. 18), and considered to be

κρυνεν αὐτοῦ τῆν θεότητα, καὶ ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν Ἅιδην, καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν τὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος μὴ σχισθέντα, καὶ ἀνήγειρεν νεκροὺς καὶ κατέβη μόνος, ἀνέβη δὲ μετὰ πολλοῦ ὄχλου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ("I will preach and sow the word of God, concerning the advent of Jesus, even the manner of his birth: concerning his mission, even the purpose for which the Father sent him: concerning the power of his works and the mysteries he uttered in the world, even the nature of this power: concerning his new preaching and his abasement and humiliation, even how he humbled himself and died and debased his divinity and was crucified and went down to Hades and burst asunder the bars which had not been severed from all eternity, and raised the dead, descending alone but rising with many to his Father").

utterly strange, these doctrines must have been regarded at first as paradoxical wherever they were preached. This, however, is not a question into which we have here to enter. What is certain is, that "the *one* living God, as creator," "Jesus the Saviour,"[1] "the Resurrection" (ἡ ἀνάστασις), and "self-control" (ἡ ἐγκρατεία), formed the most conspicuous features in the new propaganda. Along with this the story of Jesus must have been briefly communicated (in the statements of Christology), whilst the resurrection was generally defined as the resurrection of the flesh, and self-control primarily identified with sexual purity, and then extended to include renunciation of the world and mortification of the flesh.[2]

[1] One of the distinctive ideas in Christianity was the paradox that the Saviour was also the Judge, an idea by which it rose specially superior to other religions. — "Father and Son," or "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit": the dual and the triple formula interchange, but the former is rather older, though both can be traced as far back as Paul. Personally I should doubt if it was he who stamped the latter formula. Like the "Church," "the new People," "the true Israel," "apostles, prophets, and teachers," "regeneration," etc., it was probably created by the primitive circle of disciples.—The preaching of Jesus was combined with the confession of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and with the church, the forgiveness of sins and the resurrection of the body. The Roman symbol is our earliest witness to this combination, and it was probably the earliest actual witness; it scarcely arose out of the work of missions, in the narrower sense of the term, but out of the earlier catechetical activity.

[2] Hermas, *Mand.*, i. (πρῶτον πάντων πίστευσον, ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ καταρτίσας, κ.τ.λ.: "First of all, believe that God is one, even he who created and ordered all things," etc.), is a particularly decisive passage, as regards the first point (viz., the *one* living God); see *Praedic. Petri* in Clem., *Strom.*, v. 6. 48, vi. 5. 39, vi. 6. 48 (the twelve disciples despatched by Jesus with the charge to preach to all the inhabitants of the world, that they may know

From the outset *σοφία, σύνεσις, ἐπιστήμη* and *γνῶσις* had a very wide scope. Indeed, there was hardly a mission propaganda of any volume which did not flow across into the "gnostic" spirit or the spirit of Greek philosophy. The play of imagination was at once unfettered and urged to its highest flights by the settled conviction (for we need not notice here the circles where a different view prevailed) that Jesus, the Saviour, had come down from heaven. It was, after all, jejune to be informed, "We are the offspring of God" (Acts xvii. 28); but to be told that God became man and was incarnate in order that men might be divine—this was the apex and climax of all knowledge. It was bound up with the speculative idea (i) that, as the incarnation was a cosmic and divine event, it must therefore mean, somehow,

God is one: *εὐαγγελίσασθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνθρώπους γινώσκειν, ὅτι εἷς θεός ἐστιν*). In Chap. II. of his *Apology*, Aristides sets forth the preaching of Jesus Christ; but when he has to summarize Christianity, he is contented to say that "Christians are those who have found the *one* true God." Cp., *e.g.*, Chap. XV.: "Christians . . . . have found the truth. . . . They know and trust in God, the creator of heaven and earth, through whom and from whom are all things, beside whom there is none other, and from whom they have received commandments which are written on their hearts and kept in the faith and expectation of the world to come." (Cp. also the *Apology* of pseudo-Melito.) The other three points are laid down with especial clearness in the *Acta Theclae*, where Paul is said (i. 5) to have handed down *πάντα τὰ λόγια κυρίου καὶ τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἠγαπημένου* ("all the sayings of the Lord and of the birth and resurrection of the Beloved"), and where the contents of his preaching are described as *λόγος θεοῦ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως* ("the word of God upon self-control and the resurrection"). The last-named pair of ideas are to be taken as mutually supplementary; the resurrection or eternal life is certain, but it is conditioned by *ἐγκράτεια*, which is therefore put first.

the restoration and development of the whole creation; and (ii) that the soul of man, hitherto divided from its primal source in God by forces and barriers of various degrees, now found the way open for its return to God, while every one of those very forces which had formerly barred the path was also liberated and transferred into a step and intermediate stage on the way back. Speculations upon θέος, κόσμος, and ψυχή were inevitable, and they extended to the nature of the church as well. In this sphere also the earthly and historical was elevated to the level of the cosmic and transcendental.

At first the contrast between a "sound" gnosis and a heretical only emerged by degrees in the propaganda, although from the very outset it was felt that certain speculations seemed to imperil the preaching of the gospel itself.[1] The extravagances of the "gnosis" which penetrated all the syncretistic religion of the age, and issued in dualism and docetism, were corrected primarily by a "sound" gnosis, then by the doctrine of Christian freedom,

[1] One of the most remarkable and suggestive phenomena of the time is the fact that wherever a "dangerous" speculation sprang up, it was combated in such a way that part of it was taken over. For example, set Ephesians and Colossians over against the "heresies" which had emerged in Phrygia (at Colosse); think of the "heresies" opposed by the Johannine writings, and then consider the gnostic contents of the latter; compare the theology of Ignatius with the "heresies" attacked in the Ignatian epistles; think of the great gnostic systems of the second century, and then read their opponent Irenæus. "Vincendi vincentibus legem dederunt"! Such was the power of these Hellenistic, syncretistic ideas! It looks almost as if there had been a sort of disinfectant process, the "sound" doctrine being inoculated with a strong dilution of heresy, and thus made proof against virulent infection.

by a sober, rational theology and ethics, by the realism of the facts of salvation shown in the history of Jesus, by the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, but ultimately and most effectively by the church prohibiting all "innovations" and fixing her tradition. From this standpoint Origen's definition of gospel preaching (*Hom. on Joh.*, xxxii. 9) is extremely instructive. After quoting Hermas, *Mand.*, i. (the *one* God, the Creator), he adds: Χρὴ δὲ καὶ πιστεύειν, ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα ἀληθείᾳ. δεῖ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πιστεύειν πνεῦμα, καὶ ὅτι αὐτεξούσιοι ὄντες κολαζόμεθα μὲν ἐφ' οἷς ἁμαρτάνομεν, τιμώμεθα δὲ ἐφ' οἷς εὖ πράττομεν ("It is necessary to believe that Jesus Christ is Lord, and to believe all the truth concerning his deity and humanity, also to believe in the Holy Spirit, and that as free agents we are punished for our sins and honoured for our good actions").

By the second century Christianity was being preached in very different ways. The evangelists of the Catholic church preached in one way throughout the East, and in another throughout the West, though their fundamental position was identical; the Gnostics and Marcionites, again, preached in yet another way. Still Tertullian was probably not altogether mistaken in observing that missions to the heathen were not actively promoted by the latter, for the Gnostics and the Marcionites, as a rule, confined their operations to those who were already Christians.

At the transition from the second to the third century, theology had extended vastly, but the mission preaching had then as ever to remain com-

paratively limited. For the "idiotæ" it was enough, and more than enough, to hold the four points which we have already mentioned. Scenes like those narrated in Acts (viii. 26–38) were constantly being repeated, *mutatis mutandis*, especially during the days of persecution, when individual Christians suffered martyrdom joyfully; and this, although an orthodox doctrine of considerable compass was in existence, which (in theory, at any rate) was essential. For many the sum of knowledge amounted to nothing more than the confession, "ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ" (the one God) and "ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ" (Jesus as Lord); on the other hand, some of the chief arguments in the proof from prophecy, which played so prominent a part in all preaching to Jews and pagans (see Chapter VII.), were disseminated far and wide; and as the apologists are always pointing in triumph to the fact that "among us," "tradesmen, slaves, and old women know how to give some account of God, and do not believe without evidence,"[1] the principles

[1] Together with the main articles in the proof from prophecy (*i.e.*, a dozen passages or so from the Old Testament), the corresponding parts of the history of Jesus were best known and most familiar. As an inevitable result of being viewed in this light and along this line, the history of Jesus (apart from the crucifixion) represented almost entirely legendary materials (or ideal history) to a severely historical judgment. Probably no passage made so deep an impression as the birth-narratives in Matthew, and especially in Luke. The fact that the story of the resurrection did not *in its details* prove a similar success, was due to that diversity of the narratives in the authoritative scriptures, which was so serious that the very exegetes of the period (and they were capable of almost anything!) failed to give any coherent or impressive account of what transpired. In this way the separate narratives in the gospels relating to the resurrection did not possess the same importance as the birth-narratives. "Raised on the third day from

of the Christian conception of God must have been familiar to a very large number of people.

These four points, then—the one living God, Jesus as Saviour and Judge, the resurrection, and self-control—combined to form the new religion. It stood out in bold relief from the old religions, and above all from the Jewish; yet, in spite of its stiff conflict with polytheism, it lay in organic relation to the process of evolution which was at work throughout all religion, upon the eastern and the central coasts of the Mediterranean. The atmosphere from which those four principles drew their vitality was *the conception of recompense*—*i.e.*, the absolute supremacy of the moral element in life. No account of the principles underlying the mission-preaching of Christianity is accurate, if it does not view everything from the standpoint of this conception. "Grace" did play a leading rôle, but grace never displaced recompense. From the very first, morality was inculcated within the Christian churches in two ways: by the Spirit of Christ and by the conception of judgment and of recompense. Both were marked by a decided bent to the future, for the Christ of both was "he who was to return." To the mind of primitive Christianity the "present" and

the dead, according to the scripture": this brief confession was all that rivalled the popularity of Luke i.–ii. and the story of the wise men from the East. The notion that the apostles themselves compiled a quintessence of Christian doctrine was widely current; but the greatest diversity of opinion prevailed as to what the quintessence consisted of. The Didachê marks the beginning of a series of compositions which were supposed to have been written by the apostles collectively, or to contain an authoritative summary of their regulations.

the "future" were sharply opposed to each other, and it was this opposition which furnished the principle of self-control with its most powerful motive. It became, indeed, with many people a sort of glowing passion. The church which prayed at every service, "May grace come and this world pass away: maranatha," was the church which gave directions like those which we read in the opening parable of Hermas.[1] "From the lips of all Christians

[1] Here is the passage; it will serve to represent a large class. "You know that you servants of God dwell in a foreign land, for your city is far from this city. If, then, you know the city where you are to dwell, why provide yourselves here with fields and expensive luxuries and buildings and chambers to no purpose? He who makes such provision for this city has no mind to return to his own city. Foolish, double-minded, wretched man! seest thou not that all these things are foreign to thee and controlled by another? For the lord of this city shall say, 'I will not have thee in my city; leave this city, for thou keepest not my laws.' Then, O possessor of fields and dwellings and much property besides, what wilt thou do with field, and house, and all thine other gains, when thou art expelled by him? For the lord of this land has the right to tell thee, 'Keep my laws, or leave my land.' What then shalt thou do, thou who hast already a law over thee in thine own city? For the sake of thy fields and other possessions wilt thou utterly repudiate *thy* law and follow the law of this city? Beware! It may be unwise for thee to repudiate thy law. For shouldst thou wish to return once more to thy city, thou shalt not be allowed in: thou shalt be shut out, because thou didst repudiate its law. So beware. Dwelling in a foreign land, provide thyself with nothing more than a suitable competency; and whenever the master of this city expels thee for opposing his law, be ready to leave his city and seek thine own, keeping thine own law cheerfully and unmolested. So beware, you that serve God and have him in your heart; perform his works, mindful of his commandments and of the promises he has made, in the faith that he will perform the latter if the former be observed. Instead of fields, then, buy souls in trouble, as each of you is able; visit

this word is to be heard: The world is crucified to me, and I to the world" (Celsus, cited by Origen, V. lxiv.)

This resolute renunciation of the world was really the first thing which made the church competent and strong to tell upon the world. Then, if ever, was the saying verified: "He who would do anything for the world must have nothing to do with it." Primitive Christianity has been upbraided for being too unworldly and ascetic. But revolutions are not effected with rose-water, and it was a veritable revolution to overthrow polytheism and to set up the majesty of God and goodness in the world—for those who believed in them, as well as for those who did not. This could not have transpired, in the first instance,

widows and orphans, and neglect them not; expend on such fields and houses, which God has given to you [*i.e.*, on the poor], your wealth and all your pains. The Master endowed you with riches that you might perform such ministries for him. Far better is it to buy fields, possessions, houses of this kind; thou wilt find them in thine own city when thou dost visit it. Such expenditure is noble and cheerful; it brings joy, not fear and sorrow. Practise not the expenditure of pagans, then; that ill becomes you, as God's servants. Practise your proper expenditure, in which you may rejoice. Do not stamp things falsely; never touch other people's property, nor lust after it, for it is evil to lust after what belongs to other people. Do thine own task and thou shalt be saved." For all the rigour of his counsel, however, it never occurs to Hermas that the distinction of rich and poor should actually cease within the church. This is plain, if further proof be needed, from the next parable. The progress of thought upon this question in the church is indicated by the tractate of Clement of Alexandria entitled, "Quis dives salvetur?" Moreover, the saying already put into the lips of Jesus in John xii. 8 ("the poor ye have always with you"), a saying which was hardly inserted without some purpose, shows that the abolition of the distinction between rich and poor was never contemplated in the church.

had not men asserted the vanity of the present world, and practically severed themselves from it. The rigour of this attitude was scarcely abated by the mission-preaching; on the contrary, it was aggravated, since instead of being isolated it was set side by side with the message of the Saviour and of salvation, of love and charity. Yet it must be added, that for all its clear-cut expressions, and the strong bias it imparted to the minds of men towards the future, the idea of recompense was freed from harshness and inertia by its juxtaposition with a feeling of perfect confidence that God was *present*, and a conviction of his *care* and of his *providence*. No mode of thought was more alien to early Christianity than deism. The early Christians knew the Father in heaven; they knew that God was near them, guiding them, and reigning in their life with a might of his own. This was the God they proclaimed abroad. And thus, in their preaching, the future became already present, while hard and fast recompense seemed to disappear entirely. For what further "recompense" was needed by people who were living in God's presence, feeling with every faculty of the soul, aye, and with every sense, the wisdom, power, and goodness of their God? Moods of assured possession and of yearning, experiences of grace and phases of ardent hope, came and went in many a man besides the apostle Paul. He yearned for the prospect of release from the body, and thus felt a touching sympathy for everything in bondage, for the whole creation in its groans. But it was no harassing or uncertain hope that engrossed all his heart and being; it was hope fixed upon a strong and a secure basis, upon

his filial relationship to God and his possession of God's Spirit.[1]

[1] It was only in rare cases that the image of Christ's person as a whole produced what may be termed a "Christ-emotion," which moved people to give articulate expression to their experiences. Ignatius is really the only man we can name alongside of Paul and John. Yet in how many cases of which we know nothing, this image of Christ must have been the dominating power of human life! In some of the dying confessions of the martyrs, it emerges in a very touching fashion.

CHAPTER II.

THE GOSPEL OF THE SAVIOUR AND OF SALVATION.[1]

THE gospel, as preached by Jesus, is a religion of redemption, but it is a religion of redemption in a secret sense. Jesus *proclaimed* a new message (the near approach of God's kingdom, God as the Father, as *his* Father), and also a new law, but he did his *work* as a Saviour or healer, and it was amid work of this kind that he was crucified. Paul, too, preached the gospel as a religion of redemption.

Jesus appeared among his people as a *physician*. "The healthy need not a physician, but the sick" (Mark ii. 17, Luke v. 31). The first three gospels depict him as the physician of soul and body, as the Saviour or healer of men. Jesus says very little about sickness; he cures it. He does not explain that sickness is health; he calls it by its proper name, and has compassion upon the sick person. There is nothing sentimental or artificial about Jesus; he draws no fine distinctions, and utters no sophistries about healthy people being really sick and sick people really healthy. He sees himself surrounded

[1] This chapter is based on a fresh revision of Section VI. in my study on "Medicinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte" (*Texte und Unters.*, VIII. 1892).

by crowds of sick people; he attracts them, and his one impulse is to help them. Jesus does not distinguish rigidly between sicknesses of the body and of the soul; he takes them both as different expressions of *one* supreme ailment in humanity. But he knows their sources. He knows it is easier to say, "Rise up and walk," than to say, "Thy sins are forgiven thee" (Mark ii. 9). And he acts accordingly. No sickness of the soul repels him—he is constantly surrounded by sinful women and tax-gatherers. No bodily disease is too loathsome for Jesus. In this world of wailing, misery, filth, and profligacy, which pressed upon him every day, he kept himself vital, pure, and busy at all times.

In this way he won men and women to be his disciples. The circle by which he was surrounded was a circle of people who had been healed.[1] They were healed because they had believed on him, *i.e.*, because they had read off their health from his

[1] An old legend of Edessa regarding Jesus is connected with his activity as a healer of men. At the close of the third century the people of Edessa, who had become Christians during the second half of the second century, traced back their faith to the apostolic age, and treasured up an alleged correspondence between Jesus and their king Abgar. This correspondence is still extant (cp. Euseb., *H.E.*, i. 13). It is a naïve romance. The king, who is severely ill, writes thus: "Abgar, toparch of Edessa, to Jesus the excellent Saviour, who has appeared in the country of Jerusalem; greeting. I have heard of thee and of thy cures, performed without medicine or herb. For, it is said, thou makest the blind to see, and the lame to walk; thou cleansest lepers, thou expellest unclean spirits and demons, thou healest those afflicted with lingering diseases, and thou raisest the dead. Now, as I have heard all this about thee, I have concluded that one of two things must be true: either thou art God, and, having descended from heaven, doest these things, or else thou art a son of God by what

character and words. To know God was the health of the soul. This was the rock on which Jesus had rescued them from the shipwreck of their life. They knew they were healed, just because they had recognized God as the *Father* in his Son. Henceforth they drew health and real life from a perennial stream.

"Ye will say unto me this parable: Physician, heal thyself" (Luke iv. 23). He who helped so many people, seemed himself to be always in a state of helplessness. Harassed, calumniated, threatened with death by the authorities of his nation, and persecuted in the name of the very God whom he proclaimed, Jesus encountered his cross. But even the cross only displayed for the first time the full depth and energy of his saving power. It put the copestone on his efforts, by showing men that *the sufferings of the just are the saving thing in human history.*

"Surely he hath borne our sickness and carried

thou doest. I write to thee, therefore, to ask thee to come and cure the disease from which I am suffering. For I have heard that the Jews murmur against thee, and devise evil against thee. Now, I have a very small, yet excellent city, which is large enough for both of us." To which, Jesus answered: "Blessed art thou for having believed in me without seeing me. For it is written concerning me that those who have seen me will not believe in me, while they who have not seen me will believe and be saved. But as to thy request that I should come to thee, I must fulfil here all things for which I have been sent, and, after fulfilling them, be taken up again to him who sent me. Yet after I am taken up, I will send thee one of my disciples to cure thy disease and give life to thee and thine." The narrative then goes on to describe how Thaddaeus came to Edessa and cured the king by the laying on of hands, without medicine or herbs, after he had confessed his faith. "And Abdus, the son of Abdus, was also cured by him of gout."

our sorrows; by his stripes we are healed."[1] This was the new truth that men derived from the cross of Jesus. It flowed out, like a stream of fresh water, on the arid souls of men, and on their dry morality. The morality of outward acts and regulations gave way to the conception of a life which was personal, pure, and divine, which consumed itself in the service of the brethren, and gave itself up ungrudgingly to death. This conception was the principle of the new life. It uprooted the old life as that life swayed to and fro between sin and virtue; it also gave birth to a new life whose aim was nothing short of being a disciple of Christ, and whose strength was drawn from the life of Christ himself. The disciples went forth to preach the message of "God the Saviour,"[2] of that Saviour and physician whose person, deeds, and sufferings were salvation. Paul was giving vent to no sudden or extravagant emotion, but expressing with quiet confidence the consciousness which absorbed him at every moment, when he wrote to the Galatians (ii. 20), "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. For the life I now live in the flesh, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave up

[1] Cp. 1 Pet. ii. 24, *οὗ τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοὶ ἰάθητε.*

[2] Luke ii. 11, *ἐτέχθη ὑμῖν σωτήρ, ὅς ἐστιν Χριστὸς κύριος*; John iv. 42, *οἴδαμεν ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου*; Tit. ii. 11, *ἐπεφάνη ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις*; Tit. iii. 4, *ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἐπεφάνη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ.* By several Christian circles, indeed, the title "Saviour" was reserved for Jesus and for Jesus only. Irenæus (I. i. 3) reproaches the Valentinian Ptolemæus for never calling Jesus *κύριος* but only *σωτήρ*, and, as a matter of fact, in the epistle of Ptolemæus to Flora, Jesus is termed *σωτήρ* exclusively.

himself for me." Conscious of this, the primitive Christian missionaries were ready to die daily. And that was just the reason why their cause did not collapse.

In the world to which the apostles preached their new message, religion had not been intended originally for the sick, but for the sound. The Deity sought the pure and sound to be his worshippers. The sick and sinful, it was held, are the prey of the powers of darkness; let them see to the recovery of health by some means or another, health for soul and body—for until then they are not pleasing to the gods. It is interesting to observe how this conception is still dominant at the close of the second century, in Celsus, the enemy of Christendom (Orig., *c. Cels.*, III. lix. f.). "Those who invite people to participate in other solemnities, make the following proclamation: 'He who hath clean hands and sensible speech (is to draw near)'; or again, 'He who is pure from all stain, conscious of no sin in his soul, and living an honourable and just life (may approach).' Such is the cry of those who promise purification from sins.[1] But let us now hear what sort of people these Christians invite. 'Anyone who is a sinner,' they say, 'or foolish, or simple-minded—in short, any unfortunate will be accepted by the kingdom of God.' By 'sinner' is meant an unjust person, a thief, a burglar, a poisoner, a sacrilegious man, or a robber of corpses. Why, if you wanted an assembly of robbers, these are just the sort of

[1] The meaning is that even to mysteries connected with purification those only were bidden who had led upon the whole a good and a just life.

people you would summon!"[1] Here Celsus has stated, with all the explicitness that one could desire, the cardinal difference between Christianity and ancient religion.[2]

But, as we have already seen (Book I., Chapter III.), the religious temper which Christianity encountered, and which developed and diffused itself with great rapidity in the second and third centuries, was no longer what we should term "ancient." Here again we see that the new religion made its appearance "when the time was fulfilled." The cheerful, naïve spirit of the old religion, so far as it still survived, lay a-dying, and its place was occupied by fresh religious needs. Philosophy had set the individual free, and had discovered a human being in the common citizen. By the blending of states and nations, which coalesced

[1] Porphyry's position is rather different. He cannot flatly set aside the saying of Christ about the sick, for whose sake he came into the world. But as a Greek he is convinced that religion is meant for intelligent, just, and inquiring people. Hence his statement on the point (in Mac. Magnes, iv. 10) is pretty confused.

[2] Origen makes a skilful defence of Christianity at this point. "If a Christian does extend his appeal to the same people as those addressed by a robber-chief, his aim is very different. He does so in order to bind up their wounds with his doctrine, in order to allay the festering sores of the soul with those remedies of faith, which correspond to the wine and oil and other applications employed to give the body relief from pain" (III. lxi.). "Celsus misrepresents facts when he declares that we hold God was sent to sinners only. It is just as if he found fault with some people for saying that some kind and gracious [φιλανθρωπότατος, an epithet of Æsculapius] monarch had sent his physician to a city for the benefit of the sick people in that city. God the Word was thus sent as a physician for sinners, but also as a teacher of divine mysteries for those who are already pure and sin no more" (III. lxii.).

to form a universal empire, cosmopolitanism had now become a real thing. But there was always a reverse side to cosmopolitanism, viz., individualism. The refinements of material civilization and mental culture made people more sensitive to the element of pain in life, and this increase of sensitiveness betrayed itself also in the sphere of morals, where more than one Oriental religion came forward to supply its need. The Socratic philosophy, with its fine ethical ideas, issued from the thinker's heights to spread across the lowlands of the common people. The Stoics, in particular, paid unwearied attention to the "health and diseases of the soul," moulding their practical philosophy upon this type of thought. There was a real demand for *purity*, *consolation*, *expiation*, and *healing*, and as these could not be found elsewhere, they began to be sought in *religion*. In order to secure them, people were on the look-out for new sacred rites. The evidence for this change which passed over the religious temper lies in the writings of Seneca, Epictetus, and many others ; but a further testimony of much greater weight is afforded by the revival which attended the cult of Æsculapius during the Imperial age. As far back as 290 B.C. Æsculapius of Epidaurus had been summoned to Rome on the advice of the Sibylline books. He kept his sanctuary on the island in the Tiber, and close to it, just as at the numerous shrines of Asclepius in Greece, there stood a sanatorium in which sick persons waited for the injunctions which the god imparted during sleep. Greek physicians followed the god to Rome, but it took a long time for either the god or the Greek doctors to become popular.

The latter do not seem at first to have recommended themselves by their skill. "In 219 B.C. the first Greek surgeon became domiciled in Rome. He actually received the franchise, and was presented by the State with a shop 'in compito Acilio.' But this doctor made such unmerciful havoc among his patients by cutting and cauterizing, that the name of surgeon became synonymous with that of a butcher."[1] Things were different under the Cæsars. Though the Romans themselves still avoided the art of medicine, considering it a kind of divination, skilled Greek doctors were in demand at Rome itself, and the cult of that "deus clinicus," Æsculapius, was in vogue. From Rome his cult spread over all the West, fusing itself here and there with the cult of Serapis or some other deity, and accompanied by the inferior cult of Hygeia and Salus, Telesphorus and Somnus. Furthermore, the sphere of influence belonging to this god of healing was constantly widening; he became "saviour" pure and simple, the god who aids in all distress, the "friend of man" (*φιλανθρωπότατος*).[2] The more men sought deliverance and healing in religion, the

[1] Preller-Jordan, *Röm. Mythologie,* ii. p. 243. Pliny observes: "Mox a saevitia secandi urendique transisse nomen in carnificem et in taedium artem omnesque medicos." ("Owing to cruelty in cutting and cauterizing, the name of surgeon soon passed into that of butcher, and a disgust was felt for the profession and for all doctors").

[2] The cult was really humane, and it led the physicians also to be humane. In a passage from the *Παραγγελίαι* of pseudo-Hippocrates we read: "I charge you not to show yourselves inhuman, but to take the wealth or poverty (of the patient) into account, in certain cases even to treat them gratis"—the repute of the *ἰατροὶ ἀνάργυροι* is well known—"and to consider future gratitude more

greater grew this god's repute. He belonged to the old gods who held out longest against Christianity, and therefore he is often to be met with in the course of early Christian literature. The cult of Æsculapius was one of those which were most widely diffused throughout the second half of the second century, and also during the third century. People travelled to the famous sanatoria of the god, as they travel to-day to baths. He was appealed to in diseases of the body and of the soul, the costliest gifts were brought him as the ΘΕΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ("God the Saviour"), and people consecrated their lives to him, as innumerable inscriptions and statues testify. In the case of other gods as well, healing energy was now made a central feature. Zeus himself and Apollo (cp., *e.g.*, Tatian, *Orat.* viii.) appeared in a new light. They, too, became "saviours." No one could be a god any longer, unless he was also a saviour.[1] Look at Origen's

than present fame. If, therefore, the summons for aid happens to be the case of an unknown or impecunious man, he is most of all to be assisted; for wherever there is love to one's neighbour, it means readiness to act" (ix. 258 Littré, iii. 357 Erm.; a passage which came under my notice in Ilberg's communication to the *Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift* for March 25, 1893). How strongly the Christians themselves felt their affinity to humane physicians is proved by a most striking instance quoted by Ilberg (*loc. cit.*, from vi. 90 Littré, ii. 123 Erm.). Eusebius writes (*H.E.*, x. 4. 11) that Jesus, "like some excellent physician, in order to cure the sick, examines what is repulsive, handles sores, and reaps pain himself from the sufferings of others." This passage is literally resumed from the treatise of pseudo-Hippocrates, *περὶ φυσῶν*: *ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἰητρὸς ὁρεῖ τε δεινά, θιγγάνει τε ἀηδέων, ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίῃσι δὲ ξυμφορῇσιν ἰδίας καρποῦται λύπας.*

[1] Corresponding to this, we have Porphyry's definition of the object of philosophy as *ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς σωτηρία* (the salvation of the soul).

great reply to Celsus, and you soon discover that one point hotly in dispute between these two remarkable men was the question whether Jesus or Æsculapius was the true Saviour. Celsus champions the one with as much energy and credulity as Origen the other. The combination of crass superstition and sensible criticism presented by both men is an enigma to us at this time of day, and nowadays we can hardly form any clear idea of their mental bearings. In III. iii. Origen observes: "Miracles occurred in all lands, or at least in many places. Celsus himself admits in his book that Æsculapius healed diseases and revealed the future in all cities that were devoted to him, such as Tricca, Epidaurus, Cos, and Pergamum." According to III. xxii. Celsus charged the Christians with being unable to make up their minds to call Æsculapius a god, simply because he had been first a man. Origen's retort is that the Greek tradition made Zeus slay Æsculapius with a thunderbolt. Celsus (III. xxiv.) declared it to be an authentic fact that a great number of Greeks and barbarians had seen, and continued to see, no mere wraith of Æsculapius, but the god himself engaged in healing and helping man, whereas the disciples of Jesus had merely seen a phantom. Origen is very indignant at this, but his assertions to the contrary are weak. Does Celsus also appeal to the great number of Greeks and barbarians who believe in Æsculapius? Origen, too, can point to the great number of Christians, to the truth of their scriptures, and to their successful cures in the name of Jesus. But then he suddenly alters his defence, and proceeds (III. xxv.) to make

the following extremely shrewd observation:—"Even were I going to admit that a demon named Æsculapius had the power of healing bodily diseases, I might still remark to those who are amazed at such cures or at the prophecies of Apollo, that such curative power is of itself neither good nor bad, but within reach of godless as well as of honest folk; while in the same way it does not follow that he who can foretell the future is on that account an honest and upright man. One is not in a position to prove the virtuous character of those who heal diseases and foretell the future. *Many instances may be adduced of people being healed who did not deserve to live, people who were so corrupt and led a life of such wickedness that no sensible physician would have troubled to cure them.* . . . The power of healing diseases is no evidence of anything specially divine." From all these remarks of Origen, we can see how high the cult of Æsculapius was ranked, and how keenly the men of that age were on the lookout for "salvation."

Into this world of craving for salvation the preaching of Christianity made its way. Long before it had completed its triumph by dint of an impressive philosophy of religion, its success was already assured by the fact that it promised and offered salvation—a feature in which it surpassed all other religions and cults. It did more than set up the actual Jesus against the imaginary Æsculapius of dreamland. *Deliberately and consciously it assumed the form of "the religion of salvation or healing,"*[1] *or*

[1] The New Testament itself is so saturated with medicinal expressions, employed metaphorically, that a collection of them would fill several pages.

"the medicine of soul and body," and at the same time it recognized that one of its cardinal duties was to care assiduously for the sick in body. We shall now select one or two examples out of the immense wealth of material, to throw light upon both of these points.

Take, first of all, the theory. Christianity never lost hold of its innate principle; it was, and it remained, a religion for the sick. Accordingly it assumed that no one, or at least hardly any one, was in normal health, but that men were always in a state of disability. This reading of human nature was not confined to Paul, who looked on all men outside of Christ as dying, dying in their sins; a similar, though simpler, view was taught by the numerous unknown missionaries of primitive Christianity. The soul of man is sick, they said, a prey to death from the moment of his birth. The whole race lies a-dying. But now "the goodness and the human kindness of God the Saviour" have appeared with renewal for the sick soul.[1] Baptism was therefore conceived as a bath for restoring the soul's health, or for "the recovery of life";[2] the Lord's Supper was valued as "the potion of immortality,"[3] and penitence was termed "vera de satisfactione medicina" (the true medicine derived from the atonement, Cypr., *de lapsis*, xv.). At the celebration of the sacrament, thanks were offered for the

[1] Tit., iii. 4: ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἐπέφανη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ . . . . ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς. See the New Testament allusions to σωτήρ.

[2] Tert., *de baptism*, i., etc., etc.; Clement (*Paedag.*, i. 6. 29) calls baptism παιώνιον φάρμακον. Tertullian describes it as "aqua medicinalis."

[3] Ignatius, Justin, and Irenæus.

"life" therein bestowed (Did., ix.-x.). The conception of "life" acquired a new and deeper meaning. Jesus had already spoken of a "life" beyond the reach of death, to be obtained by the sacrifice of a man's earthly life. The idea and the term were taken up by Paul and by the fourth evangelist, who summed up in them the entire blessings of religion. With the tidings of immortality, the new religion confronted sorrow, misery, sin, and death. So much, at least, the world of paganism could understand. It could understand the promise of bliss and immortality resembling that of the blessed gods. And not a few pagans understood the justice of the accompanying condition, that one had to submit to the régime of the religion, that the soul had to be pure and holy before it could become immortal. In this way they grasped the message of a great Physician who preaches "abstinence" and bestows the gift of "life."[1] Anyone who had felt a single ray of the power and glory of the new life judged his previous life to have been blindness, disease, and death,[2]—a

[1] Clement of Alexandria opens his *Paedagogus* by describing his Logos as the physician who heals suffering (I. i. 1, τὰ πάθη ὁ παραμυθικὸς λόγος ἰᾶται). He distinguishes the λόγος προτρεπτικός, ὑποθετικός and παραμυθικός, to which is added further ὁ διδακτικός. And the Logos is Christ. Gregory Thaumaturgus also calls the Logos a physician, in his panegyric on Origen (xvi.). In the pseudo-Clementine homilies, Jesus, who is the true prophet, is also the physician; similarly Peter's work everywhere is that of the great physician who, by the sole means of prayer and speech, heals troops of sick folk (see especially Bk. VII.). Simon Magus, again, is represented as the wicked magician, who elicits disease wherever he goes.

[2] That the vices were diseases was a theme treated by Christian teachers as often as by the Stoics. Cp., *e.g.*, Origen, *in Ep. ad Rom.*,

conception attested by both the apostolic fathers and the apologists. "He bestowed on us the light, he spoke to us as a father to his sons, he saved us in our lost estate. . . . Blind were we in our understanding, worshipping stones and wood and gold and silver and brass, nor was our whole life aught but death."[1] The mortal will put on, nay, has already put on, immortality, the perishable will be robed in the imperishable: such was the glad cry of the early Christians, who took up arms against a sea of troubles, and turned the terror of life's last moment into a triumph. "Those miserable people," says Lucian in the *Proteus Peregrinus*, "have got it into their heads that they are perfectly immortal." He would certainly have made a jest upon it had any occurred to his mind; but whenever this nimble scoffer is depicting the faith of Christians, there is a remarkable absence of anything like jesting.

While the soul's health or the new life is a gift, however, it is a gift which must be appropriated

Bk. II. (Lommatzsch, vi. 91 f.): "Languores quidem animae ab apostolo in his (Rom. ii. 8) designantur, quorum medelam nullus inveniet nisi prius morborum cognoverit causas et ideo in divinis scripturis aegritudines animae numerantur et remedia describuntur, ut hi, qui se apostolicis subdiderint disciplinis, ex his, quae scripta sunt, agnitis languoribus suis curati possint dicere: 'Lauda anima mea dominum, qui sanat omnes languores tuos.'" (The apostle here describes the diseases of the soul; their cure cannot be discovered till one learns first of all the causes of such troubles, and consequently holy Scripture enumerates the ailments of the soul, and describes their remedies, in order that those who submit to the apostolic discipline may be able to say, after they have been cured of diseases diagnosed by aid of what is written: "Bless the Lord, O my soul, who healeth all thy diseases").

[1] 2 Clem., *ep. ad Cor.*, i. Similar expressions are especially frequent in Tatian, but indeed no apology is wholly destitute of them.

from within. There was a great danger of this truth being overlooked by those who were accustomed to leave all the mysteries with the sense of being consecrated and of bearing with them supermundane blessings as if they were so many articles. It would be easy also to show how rapidly the sacramental system of the church lapsed into the spirit of the pagan mysteries. But once the moral demand, *i.e.*, the purity of the soul, was driven home, it proved such a powerful factor that it held its own within the Catholic church, even alongside the inferior sacramental system. *The salvation of the soul and the lore of that salvation* never died away; in fact, the ancient church arranged all the details of her worship and her dogma with this end in view. She consistently presented herself as the great infirmary or the hospital of humanity; pagans, sinners, and heretics are her patients, ecclesiastical doctrines and observances are her medicines, while the bishops and pastors are the physicians, but only in their capacity as servants of Christ, who is himself the physician of all souls.[1] Let me single out one or two cases in point. "As the good of the body is health, so the good of the soul is the knowledge

[1] Celsus, who knew this kind of Christian preaching intimately, pronounced the Christians to be quacks. "The teacher of Christianity," he declares, "acts like a person who promises to restore a sick man to health and yet hinders him from consulting skilled physicians, so as to prevent his own ignorance from being exposed." To which Origen retorts, "And who are the physicians from whom we deter simple folk?" He then proceeds to show that they cannot be the philosophers, and still less those who are not yet emancipated from the coarse superstition of polytheism (III. lxxv.).

of God," says Justin.[1] "While we have time to be healed, let us put ourselves into the hands of God the healer, paying him a recompense. And what recompense? What but repentance from a sincere heart" (2 Clem., *ad Cor.*, ix.). "Like some excellent physician, in order to cure the sick, Jesus examines what is repulsive, handles sores, and reaps pain himself from the sufferings of others; he has himself saved us from the very jaws of death—*us* who were not merely diseased and suffering from terrible ulcers and wounds already mortified, but were also lying already among the dead . . .; *he* who is the giver of life and of light, our great physician,[2] king and lord,

[1] *Fragm.* ix. (Otto, *Corp. Apol.*, iii. p. 258). Cp. also the beautiful wish expressed at the beginning of 3 John: περὶ πάντων εὔχομαι σε εὐοδοῦσθαι καὶ ὑγιαίνειν, καθῶς εὐοδοῦταί σου ἡ ψυχή (ver. 2).

[2] Cp. *ep. ad Diogn.*, ix. 6, pseudo-Justin, *de resurr.*, x.: "our physician, Jesus Christ"; Clem., *Paedag.*, i. 2. 6: "The Logos of the Father is the only Paeonian physician for human infirmities, and the holy charmer (ἅγιος ἐπῳδός) for the sick soul" (whereupon he quotes Ps. lxxxii. 2–3): "The physician's art cures the diseases of the body, according to Democritus, but wisdom frees the soul from its passions. Yet the good instructor, the Wisdom, the Logos of the Father, the creator of man, cares for all our nature, healing it in body and in soul alike—he ὁ παναρκὴς τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἰατρὸς ὁ σωτήρ (the all-sufficient physician of humanity, the Saviour)," whereupon he quotes Mark ii. 11. See also *ibid.*, i. 6. 36, and i. 12. 100. "Hence the Logos also is called Saviour, since he has devised rational medicines for men; he preserves their health, lays bare their defects, exposes the causes of their evil affections, strikes at the root of irrational lusts, prescribes their diet, and arranges every antidote to heal the sick. For this is the greatest and most royal work of God, the saving of mankind. Patients are irritated at a physician who has no advice to give on the question of their health. But how should we not render thanks to the divine instructor," etc. (*Paedag.*, i. 8. 64–65).

the Christ of God."[1] "The physician cannot introduce any salutary medicines into the body that needs to be cured, without having previously eradicated the trouble seated in the body or averted the approaching trouble. Even so the teacher of the truth cannot convince anyone by an address on truth, so long as some error still lurks in the soul of the hearer, forming an obstacle to his arguments" (Athenagoras, *de resurr.*, i.). "Were we to draw from the axiom that 'disease is diagnosed by means of medical knowledge,' the inference that medical knowledge is the cause of disease, we should be making a preposterous statement. And as it is beyond doubt that the knowledge of salvation is a good thing, because it teaches men to know their sickness, so also is the law a good thing, inasmuch as sin is discovered thereby."[2]

[1] Eus., *H.E.*, v. 4. 11 (already referred to on p. 129). Cp. also the description of the Bible in Aphraates as "the books of the wise Physician," and Cypr., *de op.*, i.: "Christ was wounded to cure us of our wounds. . . . When the Lord at his coming had healed that wound which Adam caused," etc. Metaphors from disease are on the whole very numerous in Cyprian; cp., *e.g.*, *de habitu*, ii.; *de unitate*, iii.; *de lapsis*, xiv., xxxiv.

[2] Origen, opposing the Antinomians in *Comm. in Rom.*, iii. 6 (Lommatzsch, vi. p. 195), *Hom. in Jerem.*, xix. 3. Similarly Clem., *Paedag.*, i. 9. 88: "As the physician who tells a patient that he has fever, is not an enemy to him—since the physician is not the cause of the fever but merely detects it (οὐκ αἴτιος, ἀλλ' ἔλεγχος)—neither is one who blames a diseased soul ill-disposed to that person." Cp. Methodius (Opp. I., p. 52, Bonwetsch): "As we do not blame a physician who explains how a man may become strong and well," etc.; see also I. 65: "For even those who undergo medical treatment for their bodily pains do not at once regain health, but gladly bear pain in the hope of their coming recovery."

As early as 2 Tim. ii. 17, the word of heretics is said to eat "like a gangrene." This remark recurs very frequently, and is elaborated in detail. "Their talk is infectious as a plague" (Cyprian, *de lapsis*, xxxiv.). "Heretics are hard to cure," says Ignatius (*ad Ephes.*, vii., δυσθεράπευτος); " . . . there is but one physician, Jesus Christ our Lord." In the pastoral epistles the orthodox doctrine is already called "sound teaching" as opposed to the errors of the heretics.

Most frequently, however, bodily recovery is compared to penitence. It is Ignatius again who declares that "not every wound is cured by the same salve. Allay sharp pains by soothing fomentations."[1] "The cure of evil passions," says Clement at the opening of his *Paedagogus*, "is effected by the Logos through admonitions; he strengthens the soul with benign precepts like soothing medicines,[2] and directs the sick to the full knowledge of the truth." "Let us follow the practice of physicians (in the exercise of moral discipline)," says Origen,[3] "and only use the

[1] *Ad Polyc.*, ii. The passage is to be taken allegorically. It is addressed to bishop Polycarp, who has been already (i) counselled to "bear the maladies of all"; wisely and gently is the bishop to meet the erring and the spiritually diseased. In the garb given it by Ignatius, this counsel recurs very frequently throughout the subsequent literature; see Lightfoot's learned note. Also Clem. Alex., *Fragm.* (Dindorf, iii. 499): "With *one* salve shalt thou heal thyself and thy neighbour (who slanders thee), if thou acceptest the slander with meekness"; *Clem. Hom.*, x. 18: "The salve must not be applied to the sound member of the body, but to the suffering"; and Hermes Trismeg., περὶ βοτ. χυλ., p. 331: "Do not always use this salve."

[2] i. 1. 3, ἤπια φάρμακα (see Homer).

[3] *In l. Jesu* (Nave., viii. 6; Lomm., xi. 71). Cp. *Hom. in Jerem.*, xvi. 1.

knife when all other means have failed, when application of oil and salves and soothing poultices leave the swelling still hard." An objection was raised by Christians who disliked repentance, to the effect that the public confession of sin which accompanied the penitential discipline was at once an injury to their self-respect and a misery. To which Tertullian replies (*de poen.*, x.): "Nay, it is evil that ends in misery. Where repentance is undertaken, misery ceases, because it is turned into what is salutary. It is indeed a misery to be cut, and cauterized, and racked by some pungent powder; but the excuse for the offensiveness of means of healing that may be unpleasant, is the cure they work." And Cyprian agrees when he writes[1] that "the priest of the Lord must employ salutary remedies.[2] He is an unskilled physician who handles tenderly the swollen edges of a wound and allows the poison lodged in the inward part to be aggravated by simply leaving it alone. The wound must be opened and lanced; recourse must be had to the strong remedy of cutting out the corrupting parts. Though the patient scream out in pain, and wail or weep, because he cannot bear it—afterwards he will be grateful, when he feels that he is cured." But the most elaborate comparison of a bishop to a surgeon occurs

[1] *De lapsis*, xiv. Penitence and bodily cures form a regular parallel in Cyprian's writings; cp. *epist.*, xxxi. 6–7, lv. 16, lix. 13, and his Roman epistle xxx. 3, 5, 7. Novatian, who is responsible for the latter, declares (in *de trinit.*, v.) that God's wrath acts like a medicine.

[2] Cp. pseudo-Clem., *ep. ad Jac.*, ii.: "The president must hold the place of a physician (in the church), instead of behaving with the violence of an irrational brute."

in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (ii. 41). "Heal thou, O bishop, like a pitiful physician, all who have sinned, and employ methods that promote saving health. Confine not thyself to cutting or cauterizing or the use of corrosives, but employ bandages and lint, use mild and healing drugs, and sprinkle words of comfort as a soothing balm. If the wound be deep and gashed, lay a plaster on it, that it may fill up and be once more like the rest of the sound flesh. If it be dirty, cleanse it with corrosive powder, *i.e.*, with words of censure. If it has proud flesh, reduce it with sharp plasters, *i.e.*, with threats of punishment. If it spreads further, sear it, and cut off the putrid flesh—mortify the man with fastings. And if after all this treatment thou findest that no soothing poultice, neither oil nor bandage, can be applied from head to foot of the patient, but that the disease is spreading and defying all cures, like some gangrene that corrupts the entire member; then, after great consideration and consultation with other skilled physicians, cut off the putrified member, lest the whole body of the church be corrupted. So be not hasty to cut it off, nor rashly resort to the saw of many a tooth, but first use the lancet to lay open the abscess, that the body may be kept free from pain by the removal of the deep-seated cause of the disease. But if thou seest anyone past repentance and (inwardly) past feeling, then cut him off as an incurable with sorrow and lamentation."[1]

[1] Cp. Clem. Alex., *Paedag.*, i. 8. 64 f.: "Many evil passions are cured by punishment or by the inculcation of sterner commands. . . . . Censure is like a surgical operation on the passions of the soul. The latter are abscesses on the body of the truth, and they must be

It must be frankly admitted that this constant preoccupation with the "diseases" of sin had results which were less favourable. The ordinary moral sense, no less than the æsthetic,[1] was deadened. If people are ever to be made better, they must be directed to that honourable activity which means moral health; whereas endless talk about sin and forgiveness exercises, on the contrary, a narcotic influence. To say the least of it, ethical education must move to and fro between reflection on the past (with its faults and moral bondage) and the prospect of a future (with its goal of aspiration and the exertion of all one's powers). The theologians of the Alexandrian school had some idea of the latter factor, but in depicting the perfect Christian or true gnostic they assigned a disproportionate space to *knowledge* and correct *opinions*. They were not entirely emancipated from the Socratic fallacy that the man of *knowledge* will be invariably a *good* man. They certainly did overcome the

cut open by the lancet of censure. Censure is like the application of a medicine which breaks up the callosities of the passions, and cleanses the impurities of a lewd life, reducing the swollen flesh of pride, and restoring the man to health and truth once more." Cp. i. 9. 83; also Methodius, Opp. I., i. p. 115 (ed. Bonwetsch).

[1] It was this result at which the Emperor Julian especially took umbrage, and not without reason. As a protest against the sensuousness of paganism, there grew up in the church an æsthetic of ugliness. Disease, death, and death's relics—bones and putrefaction, were preferred to health and beauty, whilst Christianity sought to express her immaterial spirit in terms drawn from the unsightly remnants of material decay. How remote was all this artificial subtlety of an exalted piety from the piety which had pointed men to the beauty of the lilies in the field! The Christians of the third and fourth centuries really began to call sickness health, and to regard death as life.

"educated" man's pride of knowledge on the field of religion and morality.[1] In Origen's treatise against Celsus, whole sections of great excellence are devoted to the duty and possibility of even the uneducated person acquiring health of soul, and to the supreme necessity of salvation from sin and weakness.[2] Origen hits the nail upon the head when he remarks (VII. lx.) that "Plato and the other wise men of Greece, with their fine sayings, are like the physicians who confine their attention to the better classes and despise the common man, whilst the disciples of Jesus carefully study to make provision for the great mass of men."[3] Still, Origen's idea is that, as a means of salvation, religion merely forms a *stage* in the ascent for those who aspire to

[1] Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, vii. 7. 48: ὡς ὁ ἰατρὸς ὑγίειαν παρέχεται τοῖς συνεργοῦσι πρὸς ὑγίειαν, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀΐδιον σωτηρίαν τοῖς συνεργοῦσι πρὸς γνῶσίν τε καὶ εὐπραγίαν ("Even as the physician secures health for those who co-operate with him to that end, so does God secure eternal salvation for those who co-operate with him for knowledge *and good behaviour*").

[2] *C. Cels.*, III. liv.: "We cure every rational being with the medicine of our doctrine."

[3] In VII. lix. there is an extremely fine statement of the duty incumbent upon the true prophet, of speaking in such a way as to be intelligible and encouraging to the multitude, and not merely to the cultured. "Suppose that some food which is wholesome and fit for human nourishment, is prepared and seasoned so delicately as to suit the palate of the rich and luxurious alone, and not the taste of simple folk, peasants, labourers, poor people, and the like, who are not accustomed to such dainties. Suppose again that this very food is prepared, not as epicures would have it, but to suit poor folk, labourers, and the vast majority of mankind. Well, if on this supposition the food prepared in one way is palatable to none but epicures, and left untasted by the rest, while, prepared in the other way, it ministers to the health and strength of a vast number, what persons shall we believe are

higher things. His conviction is that when the development of religion has reached its highest level, anything historical or positive becomes of as little value as the idea of redemption and salvation itself. On this level the spirit, filled by God, no longer needs a Saviour or any Christ of history at all. "Happy," he exclaims (*Comm. in Joh.*, i. 22; Lomm., i. p. 43), "happy are they who have come to no longer need God's Son as the physician who heals the sick or as the shepherd, people who now need not any redemption, but wisdom, reason, and righteousness alone." In his treatise against Celsus (III. lxi. f.) he draws a sharp distinction between two aims and blessings in the Christian religion, one higher and the other lower. "To no mystery, to no participation in wisdom 'hidden in a mystery,' do we call the wicked man, the thief, the burglar, etc., but to healing or salvation. For our doctrine has a twofold appeal. It provides means of healing for the sick, as is meant by the text, 'The whole need not a physician, but

promoting the general welfare most successfully—those who cater simply for the better classes, or those who prepare food for the multitude? If we assume that the food in both cases is equally wholesome and nourishing, it is surely obvious that the good of men and the public welfare are better served by the physician who attends to the health of the multitude than by him who will merely attend to a few." And Origen was far removed from anything like the narrow-mindedness of orthodoxy, as is plain from this excellent remark in III. xiii.: "As only he is qualified in medicine who has studied in various schools and attached himself to the best system after a careful examination of them all . . . . so, in my judgment, the most thorough knowledge of Christianity is his who has carefully investigated the various sects of Judaism and of Christianity."

the sick.' But it also unveils to those who are pure in soul and body 'that mystery which was kept secret since the world began, but is now made manifest by the Scriptures of the prophets and the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.' . . . God the Word was indeed sent as a physician for the sick, but also as a teacher of divine mysteries to those who are already pure and sin no more."[1]

Origen then unites the early Christian and the philosophic conceptions of religion. He thus rose above the pessimistic fancies which seriously threatened the latter idea. But only among the cultured could he gain any following. The people held fast to Jesus as the *Saviour*.

No one has yet been able to show that the figure of Christ which emerges in the fifth century, probably as early as the fourth, and which subsequently became the prevailing type in all pictorial

[1] So Clem. Alex., *Paed.*, i. 1. 3: ἴσαι οὐκ ἐστὶν ὑγίεια καὶ γνῶσις, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν μαθήσει, ἡ δὲ ἰάσει περιγίνεται· οὐκ ἂν οὖν τις νοσῶν ἔτι πρότερόν τι τῶν διδασκαλικῶν ἐκμάθοι πρὶν ἢ τέλεον ὑγιᾶναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡσαύτως πρὸς τοὺς μανθάνοντας ἢ κάμνοντας ἀεὶ τῶν παραγγελμάτων ἕκαστον λέγεται, ἀλλὰ πρὸς οὓς μὲν εἰς γνῶσιν, πρὸς οὓς δὲ εἰς ἴασιν· καθάπερ οὖν τοῖς νοσοῦσι τὸ σῶμα ἰατροῦ χρῄζει, ταύτῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν παιδαγωγοῦ δεῖ, ἵν' ἡμῶν ἰασήται τὰ πάθη, εἶτα δὲ καὶ διδασκάλου, ὃς καθηγήσεται πρὸς καθαρὰν γνώσεως ἐπιτηδειότητα εὐτρεπίζων τὴν ψυχήν, δυναμένην χωρῆσαι τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ λόγου ("Health and knowledge are not alike; the one is produced by learning, the other by healing. Before a sick person, then, could learn any further branch of knowledge, he must get quite well. Nor is each injunction addressed to learners and to patients alike; the object in one case is knowledge, and in the other a cure. Thus, as patients need the physician for their body, so do those who are sick in soul need, first of all, an instructor, to heal our pains, and then a teacher who shall conduct the soul to all requisite knowledge, disposing it to admit the revelation of the Word").

representations, was modelled upon the figure of Æsculapius. The two types are certainly similar; the qualities predicated of both are identical in part; and no one has hitherto explained satisfactorily why the original image of the youthful Christ was displaced by the later. Nevertheless, we have no means of deriving the origin of the Callixtine Christ from Æsculapius as a prototype, so that in the meantime we must regard such a derivation as a hypothesis, which, however interesting, is based upon inadequate evidence. There would be one piece of positive evidence forthcoming, if the statue which passed for a likeness of Jesus in the city of Paneas (Cæsarea Philippi) during the fourth century, was a statue of Æsculapius. Eusebius (*H.E.*, vi. 18) tells how he had seen there, in the house of the woman whom Jesus had cured of an issue of blood, a work of art which she had caused to be erected out of gratitude to Jesus. "On a high pedestal beside the gates of her house there stands the brazen image of a woman kneeling down with her hands outstretched as if in prayer. Opposite this stands another brazen image of a man standing up, modestly attired in a cloak wrapped twice round his body, and stretching out his hand to the woman. At his feet, upon the pedestal itself, a strange plant is growing up as high as the hem of his brazen cloak, which is a remedy for all sorts of disease. This statue is said to be an image of Jesus. Nor is it strange that the Gentiles of that age, who had received benefit from the Lord, should express their gratitude in this fashion." For various reasons it is unlikely that this piece of art was intended to represent Jesus, or that it was

erected by the woman with an issue of blood;[1] on the contrary, the probability is that the statuary was thus *interpreted* by the Christian population of Paneas, probably at an early period. If the statue originally represented Æsculapius, as the curative plant would suggest, we should have here at least one step between "Æsculapius the Saviour" and "Christ the Saviour." But this interpretation of a pagan saviour or healer is insecure; and even were it quite secure, it would not justify any general conclusion being drawn as yet upon the matter. At any rate we are undervaluing the repugnance felt even by Christians of the fourth century for the gods of paganism, if we consider ourselves entitled to think of any *conscious* transformation of the figure of Æsculapius into that of Christ.[2]

[1] Cp. Hauck, *die Entstehung des Christus-typus* (1880), p. 8 f.

[2] In the eyes of Christians Æsculapius was both a demon and an idol; no Christian could take him as a model or have any dealings with him. Some Roman Christians, who were devotees of learning, are certainly reported in one passage (written by a fanatical opponent, it is true) to have worshipped Galen (Eus., *H.E.*, v. 28); but no mention is made of them worshipping Æsculapius. In addition to the passages cited above, in which early Christian writers deal with Æsculapius (who is probably alluded to also as far back as Apoc. ii. 23), the following are to be noted: Justin, *Apol.* I., xxi., xxii., xxv., liv. (passages which are radically misunderstood, if it is inferred from them that Justin supplies anything in favour of the god); Tatian, *Orat.* xxi.; Theoph., *ad Autol.*, i. 9; Tertull., *de anima*, i. (a passage which is specially characteristic of the aversion felt for this god); Cyprian's *quod idola*, i.; Orig., *c. Cels.*, III. iii., xxii.–xxv., xxviii., xlii. Clement explains him in *Protr.*, ii. 26, after the manner of Euhemerus: τὸν γὰρ εὐεργετοῦντα μὴ συνιέντες θεὸν ἀνέπλασάν τινας σωτῆρας Διοσκούρους . . . . καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν ἰατρόν ("Through not understanding the God who was their benefactor, they fashioned certain saviours, the Dioscuri and Æsculapius the

Hitherto we have been considering the development of Christianity as the religion of "healing," as that came out in parables, ideas, doctrine, and penitential discipline. It still remains for us to show that this character was also stamped upon its arrangements for the care of bodily sickness.

"I was sick and ye visited me. . . . As ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." In these words the founder of Christianity set the love that tends the sick in the centre of his religion, laying it on the hearts of all his disciples. Primitive Christianity carried it in her heart; she also carried it out in practice.[1] Even from the fragments of our extant literature, although that literature was not written with any such intention, we can still recognize the careful attention paid to works of mercy. At the outset we meet with directions everywhere to care for sick people. "Encourage the faint-hearted, support the weak," writes the apostle Paul to the church of Thessalonica (1 Thess. v. 14), which in its excitement was overlooking the duties lying close at hand. In the prayer of the church, preserved in the first epistle of Clement, supplications are expressly offered for those who are sick in soul

physician"). A number of passages (*e.g.*, *Protr.*, ii. 20, ἰατρὸς φιλάργυρος ἦν, "he was an avaricious physician," and iv. 52) show how little Clement cared for him.

[1] Cp. the beautiful sentences of Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, vi. 12 (especially p. 529, Brandt): Aegros quoque quibus defuerit qui adsistat, curendos fovendosque suscipere summae humanitatis et magnae operationis est ("It is also the greatest kindness possible and a great charity to undertake the care and maintenance of the sick, who need some one to assist them").

and body.[1] "Is any man sick? let him call for the elders of the church," says Jas. v. 14—a clear proof that all aid in cases of sickness was looked upon as a concern of the church.[2] This comes out very plainly also in the epistle of Polycarp (vi. 1), where the obligations of the elders are displayed as follows: "They must reclaim the erring, care for all the infirm, and neglect no widow, orphan, or poor person." Particulars of this duty are given by Justin, who, in his *Apology* (ch. lxvii.), informs us that every Sunday the Christians brought free-will offerings to their worship; these were deposited with the president (or bishop), "who dispenses them to orphans and widows, and any who, from sickness or some other cause, are in want." A similar account is given by Tertullian in his *Apology* (ch. xxxix.), where special stress is laid on the church's care for old people who are no longer fit for work. Justin is also our authority for the existence of deacons whose business it was to attend the sick.

In its early days the church, we may say, formed a permanent establishment for the relief of sickness and poverty, a function which it continued to discharge for several generations. It was based on the broad foundation of the Christian congregation;

[1] 1 Clem. lix.: τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς (such is the most probable reading) ἴασαι . . . . ἐξανάστησον τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας, παρακάλεσον τοὺς ὀλιγοψυχοῦντας ("Heal the sick, ... raise up the weak, encourage the faint-hearted"). Cp. the later formulas of prayer for the sick in *App. Constit.*, viii. 10 and onwards; cp. Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vi. 3, pp. 17 f.

[2] Cp. 1 Cor. xii. 26: "If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it."

it acquired a sanctity from the worship of the congregation; and its operations were strictly centralized. The bishop was the superintendent (*Apost. Constit.*, iii. 4), and in many cases, especially in Syria and Palestine, he may have actually been a physician himself. His executive or agents were the deacons and the order of "widows." The latter were at the same time to be secured against want, by being taken into the service of the church (cp. 1 Tim. v. 16). Thus, in one instruction dating from the second century,[1] we read that, "In every congregation at least one widow is to be appointed to take care of sick women; she is to be obliging and sober, she is to report cases of need to the elders, she is not to be greedy or addicted to drink, in order that she may be able to keep sober for calls to service during the night." She is to "report cases of need to the elders," *i.e.*, she is to remain an assistant. Tertullian happens to remark at one point (*de praescr.*, xli.) in a censure of women belonging to the heretical associations, that "they venture to teach, to debate, to exorcise, *to promise cures*, probably even to baptize." In the Eastern church the order of widows seems to have passed on into that of "deaconesses" at a pretty early date, but unfortunately we know nothing about this transition or about the origin of these "deaconesses."[2]

In the primitive church female assistants were quite thrown into the shadow by the men. The deacons were the real agents of charity. Their office was a hard one; it was exposed to grave

[1] Cp. *Texte u. Unters.*, ii. 5, p. 23.

[2] They are first mentioned in Pliny's letter to Trajan.

peril, especially in a time of persecution, and deacons furnished no inconsiderable proportion of the martyrs. "Doers of good works, looking after all by day and night"—such is their description (*Texte u. Unters.*, ii. 5, p. 24), one of their main duties being to look after the poor and sick.[1] How much they had to do and how much they did, may be ascertained from Cyprian's epistles[2] and the genuine Acts of the martyrs. Nor were the laity to be exempted from the duty of tending the sick, merely because special officials existed for that purpose. "The sick are not to be overlooked, nor is anyone to say that he has not been trained to this mode of service. No one is to plead a comfortable life, or the unwonted character of the duty, as a pretext for not being helpful to other people"—so runs a letter of pseudo-Justin (c. xvii.) to Zenas and Serenus. The author of the pseudo-Clementine epistle "de virginitate" brings out with special clearness the fact that to imitate Christ is to minister to the sick, a duty frequently conjoined with that of "visiting orphans and widows" (*visitare pupillos et viduas*). Eusebius

[1] Cp. *Ep. pseudo-Clem. ad Jacob.*, xii.: *οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διάκονοι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου συνετῶς ῥεμβόμενοι ἔστωσαν ὀφθαλμοί, ἑκάστου τῆς ἐκκλησίας πολυπραγμονοῦντες τὰς πράξεις . . . . τοὺς δὲ κατὰ σάρκα νοσοῦντας μανθανέτωσαν καὶ τῷ ἀγνοοῦντι πλήθει προσαντιβαλλέτωσαν, ἵν' ἐπιφαίνωνται, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ προκ θεζομένου γνώμῃ παρεχέτωσαν* ("Let the deacons of the church move about intelligently and act as eyes for the bishop, carefully inquiring into the actions of every church member . . . . let them find out those who are sick in the flesh, and bring such to the notice of the main body who know nothing of them, that they may visit them and supply their wants, as the president may judge fit").

[2] In the epistles which he wrote to the church from his hiding-place, he is always reminding them not to neglect the sick.

(*de mart. Pal.*, xi. 22) bears this testimony to the character of Seleucus, that like a father and guardian, he had shown himself a bishop and patron of orphans and destitute widows, of the poor and of the sick. Many similar cases are on record. In a time of pestilence especially, the passion of tender mercy was kindled in the heart of many a Christian. Often had Tertullian (*Apolog.* xxxix.) heard on pagan lips the remark, corroborated by Lucian, "Look how they love one another!"[1]

[1] I merely note in passing the conflict waged by the church against medical sins like abortion (*Did.*, ii. 2; Barn., xix. 5; Tert., *Apol.* ix.; *Minut. Felix.*, xxx. 2; Athenag., *Suppl.* xxxv.; Clem., *Paed.*, ii. 10, 96, etc.), and the unnatural morbid vices of paganism. It was a conflict in which the interests of the church were truly human; she maintained the value and dignity of human life, refusing to allow it to be destroyed or dishonoured at any stage of its development. With regard to these offences, she also exerted some influence upon the State legislation, in and after the fourth century, although even in the third century the latter had already approximated to her teaching on these points.

EXCURSUS.

THE CONFLICT WITH DEMONS.[1]

During the early centuries a belief in demons, and in the power they exercised throughout the world, was current far and wide. There was also a corresponding belief in demon possession, in consequence of which insanity frequently took the form of a conviction, on the part of the patients, that they were possessed by one or more evil spirits. Though this form of insanity still occurs at the present day, cases of it are rare, owing to the fact that wide circles of people have lost all belief in the existence and activity of demons. But the forms and phases in which insanity manifests itself always depend upon the general state of culture and the ideas current in the social environment, so that whenever the religious life is in a state of agitation, and a firm belief prevails in the sinister activity of evil spirits, "demon-possession" still breaks out sporadically. Recent instances have even shown that a convinced exorcist, especially if he is a religious man, is able to produce the phenomena of "possession" in a company of people

[1] Based on the essay from which the previous section has largely borrowed. Cp. on this point Weinel, *die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister im nachapost. Zeitalter* (1899), pp. 1 f., and the article "Dämonische" in the Protest. Real-Encyl., iv.[3]

against their will, in order subsequently to cure them. "Possession" is also infectious. Supposing that one case of this kind occurs in a church, and that it is connected by the sufferer himself, or even by the priest, with sin in general or with some special form of sin; supposing that he preaches upon it, addressing the church in stirring language, and declaring that this is really devil's play, then the first case will soon be followed by a second and by a third.[1] The most astounding phenomena occur, many of whose details are still inexplicable. Everything is doubled — the consciousness of the sufferer, his will, his sphere of action. With perfect sincerity on his own part (although it is always easy for frauds to creep in here), the man is at once conscious of himself and also of another being who constrains and controls him from within. He thinks and feels and acts, now as the one, now as the other; and in the grasp of a conviction that he is a double being, he confirms himself and his neighbours in this belief by means of actions which are at once the product of reflection and of an inward compulsion. Inevitable self-deceptions, cunning actions, and the most abject passivity, form a sinister combination. But they complete our idea of a psychical disease which usually betrays

[1] Tertullian (*de anima*, ix.) furnishes an excellent example of the way in which morbid spiritual states (especially visions) which befel Christians in the church assemblies depended upon the preaching to which they had just listened. One sister, says Tertullian, had a vision of a soul in bodily form, just after Tertullian had preached on the soul (probably, in fact, upon the corporeal nature of the soul). He adds quite ingenuously that the content of a vision was usually derived from the scriptures which had just been read aloud, from the psalms, or from the sermons.

extreme susceptibility to "suggestion," and, therefore, for the time being often defies any scientific analysis, leaving it open to anyone to think of special and mysterious forces in operation. In this region there are facts which we cannot deny, but which we are unable to explain.[1] Furthermore, there are "diseases" in this region which only attack superhuman individuals, who draw from this "disease" a new life hitherto undreamt of, an energy which triumphs over every obstacle, and a prophetic or apostolic zeal. We do not speak here of this kind of "possession"; it exists merely for faith—or unbelief.

In the case of ordinary people, when disease emerges in connection with religion, no unfavourable issue need be anticipated. As a general rule, the religion which brings the disease to a head has also the power of curing it, and this power resides in Christianity above all other religions. Wherever an empty or a sinful life, which has almost parted with its vitality, is suddenly aroused by the preaching of the Christian religion, until dread of evil and its bondage passes into the idea of actual "possession," the soul again is freed from the latter bondage by the message of the grace of God which has appeared in Jesus Christ. Evidence of this lies on the pages of church history, from the very beginning down to the

[1] Cp. the biography of Blumhard by Zündel (1881); Ribot's *Les maladies de la personnalité* (Paris, 1885), *Les maladies de la mémoire* (Paris, 1881), and *Les maladies de la volonté* (Paris, 1883) [English translations of the second in the International Scientific Series, and of the first and third in the Religion of Science Library, Chicago]; see also Jundt's work, *Rulman Merswin: un problème de psychologie religieuse* (Paris, 1890), especially pp. 96 f.; also the investigations of Forel and Krafft-Ebing.

present day. During the first three centuries the description of such cases flowed over into the margin of the page, whereas nowadays they are dismissed in a line or two. But the reason for this change is to be found in the less frequent occurrence, not of the cure, but of the disease.

The mere message or preaching of Christianity was not of course enough to cure the sick. It had to be backed by a convinced belief or by some person who was sustained by this belief. The cure was wrought by the praying man and not by prayer, by the Spirit and not by the formula, by the exorcist and not by exorcism. Conventional means were of no use except in cases where the disease became an epidemic and almost general, or in fact a conventional thing itself, as we must assume it often to have been during the second century. The exorcist then became a mesmerist, probably also a deluded impostor. But wherever a strong individuality was victimized by the demon of fear, wherever the soul was literally convulsed by the grip of that power of darkness from which it was now fain to flee, the will could only be freed from its bondage by some strong, holy, outside will. Here and there cases occur of what modern observers, in their perplexity, term "suggestion." But "suggestion" was one thing to a prophet, and another thing to a professional exorcist.

In the form in which we meet it throughout the later books of the Septuagint, or in the New Testament, or in the Jewish literature of the Imperial age, belief in the activity of demons was a comparatively late development in Judaism. But during

that period it was in full bloom.[1] And it was about this time that it also began to spread apace among the Greeks and Romans. How the latter came by it, is a question to which no answer has yet been given. It is impossible to refer the form of belief in demons which was current throughout the empire, in and after the second century, *solely* to Jewish or even to Christian sources. But the naturalizing of this belief, or, more correctly, the development along quite definite lines of that early Greek belief in spirits, which even the subsequent philosophers (*e.g.*, Plato) had supported — all this was a process to which Judaism and Christianity may have contributed, no less than other Oriental religions, including especially the Egyptian,[2] whose priests had been at all times famous for exorcism. In the second century a regular class of exorcists existed, just as at the present day in Germany there are "Naturärzte," or Nature-physicians, side by side with skilled doctors. Still, sensible people remained sceptical, while the great jurist Ulpian refused (at a time when, as now,

[1] Cp. the interesting passage in Joseph., *Ant.*, viii. 2. 5: Παρέσχε Σολομῶνι μαθεῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἐπῳδάς τε συνταξάμενος αἷς παρηγορεῖται τὰ νοσήματα καὶ τρόπους ἐξορκώσεων κατέλιπεν, οἷς οἱ ἐνδούμενοι τὰ δαιμόνια ὡς μήκετ' ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκδιώξουσι· καὶ αὕτη μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ θεραπεία πλεῖστον ἰσχύει ("God enabled Solomon to learn the arts valid against demons, in order to aid and heal mankind. He composed incantations for the alleviation of disease, and left behind him methods of exorcism by which demons can be finally expelled from people. A method of healing which is extremely effective even in our own day"). Compare also the story that follows this remark. The Jews must have been well known as exorcists throughout the Roman empire.

[2] And also the Persian.

this was a burning question) to recognize such practitioners as members of the order of physicians. He was even doubtful, of course, whether "specialists" were physicians in the legal sense of the term.[1]

The characteristic features of belief in demons during the second century were as follows. In the first place, the belief made its way upwards *from the obscurity of the lower classes into the upper classes of society*, and became far more important than it had hitherto been; in the second place, it was *no longer* accompanied by *a vigorous, naïve, and open religion* which kept it within bounds; furthermore, the power of the demons, which had hitherto been regarded as morally indifferent, now came to represent their *wickedness*; and finally, when the new belief was applied to the life of *individuals*, its consequences embraced psychical diseases as well as physical. In view of all these considerations, the extraordinary spread of belief in demons, and the numerous outbursts of demonic disease, are to be referred to the combined influence of such well-known factors as the dwindling of faith in the old religions, which characterized the Imperial age, to-

[1] Cp. the remarkable passage in *Dig. Leg.*, xiii. c. 1, § 3: Medicos fortassis quis accipiet etiam eos qui alicuius partis corporis vel certi doloris sanitatem pollicentur: ut puta si auricularis, si fistulæ vel dentium, non tamen si incantavit, si inprecatus est si ut vulgari verbo inpostorum utar, exorcizavit: non sunt ista medicinae genera, tametsi sint, qui hos sibi profuisse cum praedicatione adfirmant ("Perchance we should admit as physicians those also who undertake to cure special parts of the body or particular diseases, as, for example, the ear, ulcers, or the teeth; yet not if they employ incantations or spells, or — to use the term current among such impostors — if they 'exorcise.' Though there are people who loudly maintain that they have been helped thereby").

gether with the rise of a feeling on the part of the individual that he was free and independent, and therefore flung upon his inmost nature and his own responsibility. Free now from any control or restraint of tradition, the individual wandered here and there amid the lifeless, fragmentary, and chaotic débris of traditions belonging to a world in process of dissolution; now he would pick up this, now that, only to discover himself at last driven, often by fear and hope, to find a deceptive support or a new disease in the absurdest of them all.[1]

Such was the situation of affairs encountered by the gospel. It has been scoffingly remarked that the gospel produced the very diseases which it professed itself able to cure. The scoff is justified in certain cases, but in the main it recoils upon the scoffer. The gospel did bring to a head the diseases which it proceeded to cure. It found them already in existence, and intensified them in the course of its mission. But it also cured them, and no flight of the imagination can form any idea of what would have come over the ancient world or the Roman empire during the third century, had it not been for the church. Professors like Libanius or his colleagues in the academy at Athens, are of course among the immortals; people like that could maintain themselves, without any serious change, from century to century. But no nation thrives upon the food of rhetoricians and philosophers. At the close of the fourth century Rome had only one Symmachus, and the East had only one Synesius. But then, Synesius was a Christian.

[1] Jas. iii. 15 speaks of a *σοφία δαιμονιώδης*.

In what follows I propose to set down, without note or comment, one or two important notices of demon-possession and its cure from the early history of the church. In the case of one passage I shall sketch the spread and shape of belief in demons. This Tertullian has described, and it is a mistake to pass Tertullian by. — In order to estimate the significance of exorcism for primitive Christianity, one must remember that according to the belief of Christians the Son of God came into the world to combat Satan and his kingdom. The evangelists, especially Luke, have depicted the life of Jesus from the temptation onwards as an uninterrupted conflict with the devil; what he came for was to destroy the works of the devil. In Mark (i. 32) we read how many that were possessed were brought to Jesus, and healed by him, as he cast out the demons (i. 34). "He suffered not the demons to speak, for they knew him" (see also Luke iv. 34, 41). In i. 39 there is the general statement: "He preached throughout all Galilee in the synagogues and cast out the demons." When he sent forth the twelve disciples, he conferred on them the power of exorcising (iii. 15), a power which they forthwith proceeded to exercise (vi. 13; for the Seventy, see Luke x. 17); whilst the scribes at Jerusalem declared he had Beelzebub,[1] and that he cast out demons with the aid of their prince.[2] The tale of the "unclean

[1] John the Baptist was also said to have been possessed (cp. Matt. xi. 18).

[2] Jesus himself explains that he casts out demons by aid of the spirit of God (Matt. xii. 28), but he seems to have been repeatedly charged with possessing the devil and with madness (cp. John vii. 20, viii. 48 f., x. 20).

spirits" who entered a herd of swine is quite familiar (v. 2), forming, as it does, one of the most curious fragments of the sacred story, which has vainly taxed the powers of believing and of rationalistic criticism. Another story which more immediately concerns our present purpose is that of the Canaanite woman and her possessed daughter (vii. 25 f.). Matt. vii. 15 f. (Luke ix. 38) shows that epileptic fits, as well as other nervous disorders (*e.g.*, dumbness, Matt. xii. 22, Luke xi. 14), were also included under demon-possession. It is further remarkable that even during the lifetime of Jesus exorcists, who were not authorized by him, exorcised devils in his name. This gave rise to a significant conversation between Jesus and John (Mark ix. 38). John said to Jesus, "Master, we saw a man casting out demons in thy name, and we forbade him, because he did not follow us." But Jesus answered, "Forbid him not. No one shall work a deed of might in my name and then deny me presently; for he who is not against us, is for us." On the other hand, another saying of our Lord numbers people who have never known him (Matt. vii. 22) among those who cast out devils in his name. From one woman among his followers Jesus was known afterwards to have cast out "seven demons" (Mark xvi. 9, Luke viii. 2), and among the mighty deeds of which all believers were to be made capable, the unauthentic conclusion of Mark's gospel enumerates exorcism (xvi. 17).[1]

It was as exorcisers that Christians went out into the great world, and *exorcism formed one very powerful method of their mission and propaganda. It was a*

[1] Indeed it is put first of all.

question not simply of exorcising and vanquishing the demons that dwelt in individuals, but also of purifying all public life from them. For the age was ruled by the black one and his hordes (*Barnabas*); *it "lieth in the evil one,"* κεῖται ἐν πονηρῷ (*John*). *Nor was this mere theory; it was a most vital conception of existence.* The whole world and the circumambient atmosphere were filled with devils; not merely idolatry, but every phase and form of life was ruled by them. They sat on thrones, they hovered around cradles. The earth was literally a hell, though it was and continued to be a creation of God. To encounter this hell and all its devils, Christians had command of weapons that were invincible. Besides the evidence drawn from the age of their holy scriptures, they pointed to the power of exorcism committed to them, which routed evil spirits, and even forced them to bear witness to the truth of Christianity. "We," says Tertullian towards the close of his *Apology* (ch. xlvi.), "we have stated our case fully, as well as the evidence for the correctness of our statement — that is, the trustworthiness and antiquity of our sacred writings, and also the testimony borne by the demonic powers themselves (in our favour)." Such was the stress laid on the activity of the exorcists.[1]

In Paul's epistles,[2] in Pliny's letter, and in the

[1] In the pseudo-Clementine epistle "on Virginity" (i. 10), the reading of Scripture, exorcism, and teaching are grouped as the most important functions in religion.

[2] See, however, Eph. vi. 12; 2 Cor. xii. 7, etc.

Didachê, they are never mentioned.[1] But from Justin downwards, Christian literature is crowded with allusions to exorcisms, and every large church at any rate had exorcists. Originally these men were honoured as persons endowed with special grace, but afterwards they constituted a class by themselves, in the lower hierarchy, like lectors and subdeacons. By this change they lost their pristine standing.[2] The church sharply distinguished between exorcists who employed the name of Christ, and pagan sorcerers, magicians, etc.;[3] but she could not protect herself adequately against mercenary impostors, and several of her exorcists were just as dubious characters as her "prophets." The hotbed of religious frauds was in Egypt, as we learn from Lucian's *Peregrinus Proteus*, from Celsus, and from Hadrian's letter to Servian.[4] At a very early

[1] No explanation has yet been given of the absence of exorcism in Paul. His doctrine of sin, however, was unfavourable to such phenomena.

[2] The history of exorcism (as practised at baptism, and elsewhere on its own account) and of exorcists is far too extensive to be discussed here; besides, in some departments, it has not yet been sufficiently investigated. Much information may still be anticipated from the magical papyri, of which an ever-increasing number are coming to light. So far as exorcism and exorcists entered into the public life of the church, see Probst's *Sakramente und Sakramentalien*, pp. 39 f., and *Kirchliche Disziplin*, pp. 116 f.

[3] Cp. the apologists, Origen's reply to Celsus, and the injunction in the Canons of Hippolytus (*Texte u. Unters.*, vi. 4, pp. 83 f.): "Οἰωνιστής vel magus vel astrologus, hariolus, somniorum interpres, praestigiator . . . . vel qui phylacteria conficit . . . . hi omnes et qui sunt similes his neque instruendi neque baptizandi sunt." Observe also the polemic against the magical arts of the Gnostics.

[4] Vopiscus, *Saturn.*, 8: "Nemo illic archisynagogus Judaeorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum presbyter, non mathematicus, non haruspex, non aliptes."

period pagan exorcists appropriated the names of the patriarchs (cp. Orig., *c. Cels.*, I. xxii.), of Solomon, and even of Jesus Christ, in their magical formulæ; even Jewish exorcists soon began to introduce the name of Jesus in their incantations.[1] The church, on the contrary, had to warn her own exorcists not to imitate the heathen. In the pseudo-Clementine epistles *de virginitate* we read (i. 12):—"For those who are brethren in Christ it is fitting and right and comely to visit people who are vexed with evil spirits, and to pray and utter exorcisms over them, in the rational language of prayer acceptable to God, not with a host of fine words neatly arranged and studied in order to win the reputation among men of being eloquent and possessed of a good memory. Such folk are just like a sounding pipe, or a tinkling cymbal, of not the least use to those over whom they pronounce their exorcisms. They simply utter terrible words and scare people with them, but never act according to a true faith such as that enjoined by the Lord when he taught that 'this kind goeth not out save by fasting and prayer offered unceasingly, and by a mind earnestly bent (on God).' Let them make holy requests and entreaties to God, cheerfully, circumspectly, and purely, without hatred or malice. For such is the manner in which we are to visit a sick (possessed) brother or a sister . . . .

[1] Compare the story of the Jewish exorcists in Acts xix. 13: "Now certain of the itinerant Jewish exorcists also undertook to pronounce the name of the Lord Jesus over those who were possessed by evil spirits. 'I adjure you,' they said, 'by the Jesus whom Paul preaches.'" It is admitted, in the pseudo-Cypr. *de rebapt.*, vii., that even non-Christians were frequently able to drive out demons by using the name of Christ.

without guile or covetousness or noise or talkativeness or pride or any behaviour alien to piety, but with the meek and lowly spirit of Christ. Let them exorcise the sick with fasting and with prayer; instead of using elegant phrases, neatly arranged and ordered, let them act frankly like men who have received the gift of healing from God, to God's glory. By your fastings and prayers and constant watching, together with all the rest of your good works, mortify the works of the flesh by the power of the Holy Spirit. He who acts thus is a temple of the Holy Spirit of God. Let him cast out demons, and God will aid him therein. . . . The Lord has given the command to 'cast out demons' and also enjoined the duty of healing in other ways, adding, 'Freely ye have received, freely give.' A great reward from God awaits those who serve their brethren with the gifts which God has bestowed upon themselves." Justin writes (*Apol.*, II. vi.):—("The Son of God became man in order to destroy the demons.) This you can now learn from what transpires under your own eyes. For many of our Christian people have healed a large number of demoniacs throughout the whole world, and also in your own city, exorcising them in the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate; yet all other exorcists, magicians, and dealers in drugs failed to heal such people. Yea, and such Christians continue still to heal them, by rendering the demons impotent and expelling them from the men whom they possessed." In his dialogue against the Jews (lxxxv.), Justin also writes:—"Every demon exorcised in the name of the Son of God, the First-

born of all creatures, who was born of a virgin and endured human suffering, who was crucified by your nation under Pontius Pilate, who died and rose from the dead and ascended into heaven—every demon exorcised in this name is mastered and subdued. Whereas if you exorcise in the name of any king or righteous man, or prophet, or patriarch, who has been one of yourselves, no demon will be subject to you. . . . Your exorcists, I have already said, are like the Gentiles in using special arts, employing fumigation and magic incantations." From this passage we infer that the Christian formulæ of exorcism contained the leading facts of the story of Christ.[1] And Origen says as much, quite unmistakably, in his reply to Celsus (I. vi.): "The power of exorcism lies in the name of Jesus, which is uttered as the stories of his life are being narrated."[2]

Naturally one feels very sceptical in reading how various parties in Christianity denied each other the power of exorcism, explaining cures as due either to mistakes or to deception. So Irenæus (II. xxxi. 2): "The adherents of Simon and Carpocrates and the other so-called workers of miracles were convicted of acting, as they acted, not by the power of God, nor in truth, nor for the good of men, but to destroy and deceive men by means of magical illusions and universal deceit. They do more injury than good to those who believe in them, inasmuch as they are deceivers. For neither can they give sight

[1] In the formula of exorcism the most important part was the mention of the crucifixion; cp. Justin's *Dial.*, xxx., xlix., lxxvi.

[2] Ἰσχύειν δοκοῦσι . . . . τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ μετὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱστοριῶν.

to the blind or hearing to the deaf, nor can they rout any demons save those sent by themselves—if they can do even that."[1] With regard to his own church, Irenæus (cp. below, ch. iv.) was convinced that the very dead were brought back to life by its members. In this, he maintains, there was neither feint, nor error, nor deception, but astounding fact, as in the case of our Lord himself. "In the name of Jesus, his true disciples, who have received grace from him, do fulfil a healing ministry in aid of other men, even as each has received the free gift of grace from him. Some surely and certainly drive out demons, so that it frequently happens that those thus purged from demons also believe and become members of the church.[2] Others, again, possess a

[1] Cp. the sorry and unsuccessful attempts of the church in Asia to treat the Montanist prophetesses as demoniacs who required exorcism. Compare with this Firmilian's account (Cypr., *epist.*, lxxv. 10) of a Christian woman who felt herself to be a prophetess, and "deceived" many people: Subito apparuit illi unus de exorcistis, vir probatus et circa religiosam disciplinam bene semper conversatus, qui exhortatione quoque fratrum plurimorum qui et ipsi fortes ac laudabiles in fide aderant excitatus erexit se contra illum spiritum nequam revincendum . . . . ille exorcista inspiratus dei gratia fortiter restitit et esse illum nequissimum spiritum qui prius sanctus putabatur ostendit ("Suddenly there appeared before her one of the exorcists, a tried man, of irreproachable conduct in the matter of religious discipline. At the urgent appeal of many brethren present, themselves as courageous and praiseworthy in the faith, he roused himself to meet and master that wicked spirit. . . . Inspired by the grace of God, that exorcist made a brave resistance, and showed that the spirit which had previously been deemed holy, was in reality most evil").

[2] Still it seems to have been made a matter of reproach, in the third century, if any one had suffered from possession. Cornelius taxes Novatian (cp. Euseb., *H.E.*, vi. 43) with having been possessed by a demon before his baptism, and having been healed by an exorcist.

fore-knowledge of the future, with visions and prophetic utterances. . . . And what shall I more say? For it is impossible to enumerate the spiritual gifts and blessings which, all over the world, the church has received from God in the name of Jesus Christ, *who was crucified under Pontius Pilate*, and which she exercises day by day for the healing of the pagan world, without deceiving or taking money from any person. For as she has freely received them from God, so also does she freely give" (*ἰατροὶ ἀνάργυροι*).

The popular notion prevalent among the early Christians, as among the later Jews, was that, apart from the innumerable hosts of demons who disported themselves unabashed throughout history and nature, every individual had beside him a good angel who watched over him, and an evil spirit who lay in wait for him (cp., *e.g.*, the 'Shepherd' of Hermas). If he allowed himself to be controlled by the latter, he was thereby "possessed," in the strict sense of the word; *i.e.*, sin itself was possession. This brings out admirably the slavish dependence to which any man is reduced who abandons himself to his own impulses, though the explanation is naïvely simple. In the belief in demons, as that belief dominated the Christian world in the second and third centuries, it is easy to detect features which stamp it as a reactionary movement hostile to contemporary culture. Yet it must not be forgotten that in the heart of it lay hid a moral and consequently a spiritual advance, viz., in a quickened sense of evil, as well as in a recognition of the power of sin and of its dominion in the world. Hence it was that a mind of such high culture as

Tertullian's could abandon itself to this belief in demons. It is interesting to notice how the Greek and Roman elements are bound up with the Jewish Christian in his detailed statement of the belief (in the *Apology*), and I shall now quote this passage in full. It occurs in connection with the statement that while demons are ensconced behind the dead gods of wood and stone, they are forced by Christians to confess what they are, viz., not gods at all, but unclean spirits. At several points we catch even here the tone of irony and sarcasm over these "poor devils," which grew so loud in the Middle Ages, and yet never shook belief in them. But, on the whole, the description is extremely serious. People who fancy at this time of day that they would possess primitive Christianity if they only enforced certain primitive rules of faith, may perhaps discover from what follows the sort of coefficients with which that Christianity was burdened.[1]

"We Christians," says Tertullian (ch. xxii. f.), "affirm the existence of certain spiritual beings.

[1] Next to Tertullian, it is his predecessor Tatian who has given the most exact description of the Christian doctrine of demons (in his *Oratio ad Graecos*, vii.–xviii.). The demons introduced "Fatum" and polytheism. To believers, *i.e.*, to men of the Spirit (πνευμάτικοι) they are visible, but psychic men (ψύχικοι) are either unable to see them, or only see them at rare intervals (xv.–xvi.). Illnesses arise from the body, but demons assume the final responsibility for them. "Sometimes, indeed, they convulse our physical state with a storm of their incorrigible wickedness; but smitten by a powerful word of God they depart in terror, and the sick man is cured." Tatian does not deny, as a rule, that possessed persons are often healed, even apart from the aid of Christians. In the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (ix. 10. 16–18) there is also important information upon demons.

Nor is their name new. The philosophers recognize demons; Socrates himself waited on a demon's impulse, and no wonder—for a demon is said to have been his companion from childhood, detaching his mind, I have no doubt, from what was good! The poets, too, recognize demons, and even the ignorant masses use them often in their oaths. In fact, they appeal in their curses to Satan, the prince of this evil gang, with a sort of instinctive knowledge of him in their very souls. Plato himself does not deny the existence of angels, and even the magicians attest both kinds of spiritual beings. But it is our sacred scriptures which record how certain angels, who fell of their own free will, produced a still more fallen race of demons, who were condemned by God together with their progenitors and with that prince to whom we have already alluded. Here we cannot do more than merely describe their doings. The ruin of man was their sole aim. From the outset man's overthrow was essayed by these spirits in their wickedness. Accordingly they proceed to inflict diseases and evil accidents of all kinds on our bodies, while by means of violent assaults they produce sudden and extraordinary excesses of the soul. Both to soul and to body they have access by their subtle and extremely fine substance. Invisible and intangible, those spirits are not visible in the act; it is in their effects that they are frequently observed, as when, for example, some mysterious poison in the breeze blights the blossom of fruit trees and the grain, or nips them in the bud, or destroys the ripened fruit, the poisoned atmosphere exhaling, as it were, some noxious breath. With like obscurity

the breath of demons and of angels stirs up many a corruption in the soul by furious passions, vile excesses, or cruel lusts accompanied by varied errors, *the worst of which is that these deities commend themselves to the ensnared and deluded souls of men,*[1] in order to get their favourite food of flesh-fumes and of blood offered up to the images and statues of the gods. And what more exquisite food could be theirs than to divert men from the thought of the true God by means of false illusions? How these illusions are managed, I shall now explain. Every spirit is winged, angel and demon alike. Hence in an instant they are everywhere. The whole world is just one place to them. 'Tis as easy for them to know as to announce any occurrence; and as people are ignorant of their nature, their velocity is taken for divinity. Thus they would have themselves sometimes thought to be the authors of the events which they merely report—and authors, indeed, they are, not of good, but occasionally of evil events. The purposes of Divine providence were also caught up by them of old from the lips of the prophets, and at present from the public reading of their works. So picking up in this way a partial knowledge of the future, they set up a rival divinity for themselves by purloining prophecy. But well do your Crœsuses and Pyrrhuses know the clever ambiguity with which these oracles were framed in view of the future. . . . As they dwell in the air, close to the stars, and in touch

[1] This ranks as the *chef-d'œuvre* of iniquity on the part of the demons; *they are responsible for introducing polytheism, i.e.,* they get worshipped under the images of dead gods, and profit by the sacrifices, whose odour they enjoy.

with the clouds, they can discern the preliminary processes in the sky, and thus are able to promise the rain, whose coming they already feel. Truly they are most kind in their concern for health! First of all, they make you ill; then, to produce the impression of a miracle, they enjoin the use of remedies which are either unheard of or have quite an opposite effect; lastly, by withdrawing their injurious influence, they get the credit of having worked a cure. Why, then, should I speak further of their other tricks, or even of their powers of deception as spirits - of the Castor apparitions, of water carried in a sieve, of a ship towed by a girdle, of a beard reddened at a touch—things done to get men to believe in stones as gods, instead of seeking after the true God?

"Moreover, if magicians call up ghosts and even bring forward the souls of the dead, if they strangle boys in order to make the oracle speak, if they pretend to perform many a miracle by means of their quackery and juggling, if they even send dreams by aid of those angels and demons whose power they have invoked (and, thanks to them, it has become quite a common thing for the very goats and tables to divine), how much more keen will be this evil power in employing all its energies to do, of its own accord and for its own ends, what serves another's purpose? Or, if the deeds of angels and demons are exactly the same as those of your gods, where is the pre-eminence of the latter, which must surely be reckoned superior in might to all else? Is it not a more worthy conception that the former make themselves gods by exhibiting the very

credentials of the gods, than that the gods are on a level with angels and demons? Locality, I suppose you will say, locality makes a difference; in a temple you consider beings to be gods whom elsewhere you would not recognize as such! . . .

"But hitherto it has been merely a question of words. Now for facts, now for a proof that 'gods' and 'demons' are but different names for one and the same substance. Place before your tribunals any one plainly possessed by a demon. *Bidden speak by any Christian whatsoever, that spirit will confess he is a demon, just as frankly as elsewhere he will falsely pretend to be a god.*[1] Or, if you like, bring forward any one of those who are supposed to be divinely possessed, who conceive divinity from the fumes which they inhale bending over an altar, and ("ructando curantur") are delivered of it by retching, giving vent to it in gasps. Let the heavenly virgin herself, who promises rain, let that teacher of healing arts, Æsculapius, ever ready to prolong the life of those who are on the point of death, with Socordium, Tenatium (?), and Asclepiadotum; let them then and there shed the blood of that daring Christian, if—in terror of lying to a Christian—they fail to admit they are demons. Could any action be more plain? Any proof more cogent? Truth in its simplicity stands here before your eyes; its own worth supports it; suspicion there can be none. Say you, it is a piece of magic or a trick of some sort? . . . What objection can be brought

[1] In this, as in some other passages of the *Apology*, Tertullian's talk is too big.

against something exhibited in its bare reality? If, on the one hand, they (the demons) are really gods, why do they pretend (at our challenge) to be demons? From fear of us? Then your so-called 'Godhead' is subordinated to us, and surely no divinity can be attributed to what lies under the control of men. . . . So that 'Godhead' of yours proves to be no godhead at all; for if it were, demons would not pretend to it, nor would gods deny it. . . . Acknowledge that there is but *one* species of such beings, namely, demons, and that the gods are nothing else. Look out, then, for gods! For now you find those that whom you formerly took for such, are demons."

In what follows, Tertullian declares that the demons, on being questioned by Christians, not only confess they are themselves demons, but also confess the Christian's God as the true God. "Fearing God in Christ, and Christ in God, they become subject to the servants of God and Christ. Thus at our touch and breath, overpowered by the consideration and contemplation of the (future) fire, they leave human bodies at our command, reluctantly and sadly, and — in your presence — shamefacedly. You believe their lies; then believe them when they tell the truth about themselves. When anyone lies, it is not to disgrace but to glorify himself. . . . *Such testimonies from your so-called deities usually result in making people Christians.*"

In ch. xxvii. Tertullian meets the obvious retort that if demons were actually subject to Christians, the latter could not possibly succumb

helplessly to the persecutions directed against them. Tertullian contradicts this. The demons, he declares, are certainly like slaves under the control of the Christians, but like good-for-nothing slaves they sometimes blend fear and contumacy, eager to injure those of whom they stand in awe. "At a distance they oppose us, but at close quarters they beg for mercy. Hence, like slaves that have broken loose from workhouses, or prisons, or mines, or any form of penal servitude, they break out against us, though they are in our power, well aware of their impotence, and yet rendered the more abandoned thereby. We resist this horde unwillingly, the same as if they were still unvanquished, stoutly maintaining the very position which they attack, nor is our triumph over them ever more complete than when we are condemned for our persistent faith."

In ch. xxxvii. Tertullian once more sums up the service which Christians render to pagans by means of their exorcists. "Were it not for us, who would free you from those hidden foes that are ever making havoc of your health in soul and body—from those raids of the demons, I mean, which we repel from you without reward or hire?" He says the same thing in his address to the magistrate Scapula (ii.): "We do more than repudiate the demons: we overcome them, we expose them daily to contempt, and exorcise them from their victims, *as is well known to many people.*"[1] This endowment of Christians must therefore have been really acknowledged far and wide, and in a number of passages Tertullian

[1] See also the interesting observations in *de anima,* i.

speaks as if every Christian possessed it.[1] It would be interesting if we could only ascertain how far these cures of psychical diseases were permanent. Unfortunately nothing is known upon the point, and yet this is a province where nothing is more common than a merely temporary success.

Like Tertullian, Minucius Felix in his "Octavius" has also treated this subject, partly in the same words as Tertullian (ch. xxvii.).[2] The apologist Theophilus (*ad Autolyc.*, ii. 8) writes: "The Greek poets spoke under the inspiration, not of a pure, but of a lying spirit, as is quite obvious from the fact that even in our own day possessed people are sometimes still exorcised in the name of the true God, whereupon their lying spirits themselves confess that they are demons, the actual demons who formerly were at work in the poets." This leads us to assume that the possessed frequently cried out the name of "Apollo" or of the Muses at the moment of exorcising. As late as the middle of the third century Cyprian also speaks, like earlier authors, of demonic

[1] Cp., for example, *de corona*, xi. Other Christian writers also express themselves to the same effect, *e.g.*, the speech of Peter in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (ix. 19), which declares that Christians at baptism obtain the gift of healing other people by means of exorcisms: "Sometimes the demons will flee if you but look on them, for they know those who have surrendered themselves to God, and flee in terror because they honour such people" (*ἐνίοτε δὲ οἱ δαίμονες μόνον ἐνιδόντων ὑμῶν φεύξονται· ἴσασιν γὰρ τοὺς ἀποδεδωκότας ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ, διὸ τιμῶντες αὐτοὺς πεφοβημένοι φεύγουσιν*).

[2] "Adjurati (daemones) per deum verum et solum inviti miseris corporibus inhorrescunt, et vel exiliunt statim vel evanescunt gradatim, prout fides patientis adiuvat aut gratia curantis adspirat. Sic Christianos de proximo fugitant, quos longe in coetibus per vos lacessebant," etc.

cures wrought by Christians (*ad Demetr.*, xv.). "O if thou wouldst but hear and see the demons when they are adjured by us, tormented by spiritual scourges, and driven from the possessed bodies by racking words; when howling and groaning with human voices (!), and feeling by the power of God the stripes and blows, they have to confess the judgment to come! Come and see that what we say is true. And forasmuch as thou sayest thou dost worship the gods, then believe even those whom thou dost worship. . . . Thou wilt see how those whom thou implorest, implore us; how those of whom thou art in awe, stand in awe of us. Thou wilt see how they stand bound under our hands, trembling like prisoners — they to whom thou dost look up with veneration as thy lords. Verily thou wilt be made ashamed in these errors of thine, when thou seest and hearest how thy gods, when cross-questioned by us, at once yield up the secret of their being, unable even before you to conceal those tricks and frauds of theirs."[1] Similarly in the treatise *To*

[1] See also *Quod idola dei non sint* (vii.), and Cypr., *ep.*, lxix. 15: Hodie etiam geritur, ut per exorcistas voce humana et potestate divina flagelletur et uratur et torqueatur diabolus, et cum exire se et homines dei dimittere saepe dicat, in eo tamen quod dixerit fallat . . . . cum tamen ad aquam salutarem adque ad baptismi sanctificationem venitur, scire debemus et fidere [which sounds rather hesitating], quia illic diabolus opprimitur ("This goes on to-day as well, in the scourging and burning and torturing of the devil at the hands of exorcists, by means of the human voice and the divine power, and in his declaring that he will go out and leave the men of God alone, yet proving untrue in what he says. . . . However, when the water of salvation and the sanctification of baptism is reached, we ought to know and trust that the devil is crushed there").

Donatus (ch. v.): "In Christianity there is conferred (upon pure chastity, upon a pure mind, upon pure speech) the gift of healing the sick by rendering poisonous potions harmless, by restoring the deranged to health, and thus purifying them from ignominious pains, by commanding peace for the hostile, rest for the violent, and gentleness for the unruly, by forcing —under stress of threats and invective—a confession from unclean and roving spirits who have come to dwell within mankind, by roughly ordering them out, and stretching them out with struggles, howls, and groans, as their sufferings on the rack increase, by lashing them with scourges, and burning them with fire. This is what goes on, though no one sees it; the punishments are hidden, but the penalty is open. Thus what we have already begun to be, that is, the Spirit we have received, comes into its kingdom." The Christian already rules with regal power over the entire host of his raging adversary.[1]

Most interesting of all are the discussions between Celsus and Origen on demons and possessed persons, since the debate here is between two men who occupied the highest level of contemporary culture. Celsus declared that Christians owed the power they seemed to possess, to their invocation and adjuration of certain demons.[2] Origen retorted that the power of banishing demons was actually vested in the name

[1] Compare with this Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.*, ii. 15, iv. 27, who repeats in part the description of Cyprian, but lays special emphasis on the sign of the cross as a means of salvation from demons.

[2] The ethical principles of Christianity, says Celsus (I. iv. f.), are common to Christians and philosophers alike, while the apparent strength of the former lies in the names of a few demons and in incantations.

of Jesus and the witness of his life, and that the name of Jesus was so powerful that it operated by itself even when uttered by immoral persons (*c. Cels.*, I. vi.). Both Origen and Celsus, then, believed in demons; and elsewhere (*e.g.*, I. xxiv. f.) Origen adduces the old idea of the power exercised by the utterance of certain "names"; in fact, he indicates a secret "science of names,"[1] which confers power on the initiated, although of course one had to be very careful to recite the names in the proper language. "When recited in the Egyptian tongue, the one class is specially efficacious in the case of certain spirits whose power does not extend beyond such things and such a sphere, whilst the other class is effective with some spirits, if recited in Persian, and so forth." "The name of Jesus also comes under this science of names, as it has already expelled numerous spirits from the souls and bodies of mankind and shown its power over those who have thus been freed from possession."[2] Origen several times cites the fact of successful exorcism (I. xlvi., lxvii.), and the fact is not denied by Celsus, who admits even the "miracles" of Jesus. Only,

[1] Περὶ ὀνομάτων τὰ ἐν ἀπορρήτοις φιλοσοφεῖν.

[2] See on this point the statement of Origen's pupil Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria (in Euseb., *H.E.*, vii. 10. 4), for the reason why the Valerian persecution broke out. Here pagan and Christian exorcisers opposed each other. Of the latter Dionysius says: "There are and were among them many persons whose very presence and look, though they merely breathed and spoke, were able to scatter the delusive counsels of the sinful demons." Local persecution of Christians elsewhere, and indeed the great persecution under Diocletian, arose in this way, pagan priests affirming that the presence of Christians who attended the sacrifices hindered their saving influence, etc.

his explanation was very different (lxviii.). "The magicians," he said, "undertake still greater marvels, and men trained in the schools of Egypt profess like exploits, people who for a few pence will sell their reverend arts in the open market-place, expelling demons from people, blowing diseases away with their breath, calling up the spirits of the heroes, exhibiting expensive viands, with tables, cakes, and dainties, which are really non-existent, and setting inanimate things in motion as if they really possessed life, whereas they have but the semblance of animals. If any juggler is able to perform feats of this kind, must we on that account regard him as 'God's son'? Must we not rather declare that such accomplishments are merely the contrivances of knaves possessed by evil demons?" Christians are jugglers or sorcerers or both; Christ also was a master of demonic arts—such was the real opinion of Celsus.[1] Origen was at great pains to controvert this very grievous charge (see, *e.g.*, I. lxviii.). And he succeeded. He could appeal to the unquestionable fact that all Christ's works were wrought with the object of benefiting men.[2] Was it so with magicians? Still, in this reproach of Celsus there lay a serious monition for the church and for Christians, a monition which more than Celsus canvassed. As early as the middle of the second century a Christian preacher had declared, "The name of the true God is blasphemed among the heathen by reason of us Christians; for if we fulfil not the commands of

[1] He gives his opinion upon the gnostic exorcisers in particular in VI. xxxix. f.

[2] Cp., *e.g.*, III. xxviii., and I. lxviii.

God, but lead an unworthy life, they turn away and blaspheme, saying that our teaching is merely a fresh myth and error."[1] From the middle of the second century onwards the cry was often raised against Christians, that they were jugglers and necromancers, and not a few of them were certainly to blame for such a charge.[2] Cures of demon-possession, practised by unspiritual men as a profession, must have produced a repellent impression on more serious people, despite the attractive power which they did exercise (Tert., *Apol.*, xxiii., "Christianos facere consuerunt"). But there was really no chance of the matter being cleared up in the third century. Christians and pagans alike were getting more and more entangled in the belief in demons. In their dogmatic and their philosophy of religion, polytheism certainly became more and more attenuated as a sublime monotheism was evolved; but in their practical life they plunged more helplessly than ever into the abysses of an imaginary world of spirits.

[1] 2 Clem. xiii. 3, *μῦθόν τινα καὶ πλάνην.*

[2] Origen, who himself admits that Christian exorcists were usually uneducated people, asserts deliberately and repeatedly that they employed neither magic nor sorcery but prayer alone and "formulæ of exorcism which are so plain that even the plainest man can make use of them" (*c. Cels.*, VII. iv.: *σὺν οὐδενὶ περιέργῳ καὶ μαγικῷ ἢ φαρμακευτικῷ πράγματι, ἀλλὰ μόνῃ εὐχῇ καὶ ὁρκώσεσιν ἁπλουστέραις καὶ ὅσα ἂν δύναιτο προσάγειν ἁπλούστερος ἄνθρωπος.* Cp. *Comm. in Matth.*, xiii. 7, vol. iii. p. 224, ed. Lommatzsch).

CHAPTER III.

THE GOSPEL OF LOVE AND CHARITY.[1]

"I was hungry, and ye fed me; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came to me. . . . Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me."

These words of Jesus have shone so brilliantly for many generations in his church, and exerted so powerful an influence, that one may further describe the Christian preaching as *the preaching of love and charity.* From this standpoint, in fact, the proclamation of the Saviour and of healing would seem to be merely subordinate, inasmuch as the words, "I was sick, and ye visited me," form but one link in the larger chain.

Among the extant words and parables of Jesus, those which inculcate love and charity are especially numerous, and with them we must rank many a

[1] In his work, *Die christliche Liebestätigkeit in der alten Kirche* (1st ed., 1882; Eng. trans., *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church,* Edinburgh), Uhlhorn presents a sketch which is thorough, but unfair to paganism. The Greeks and Romans also were acquainted with philanthropy.

story of his life.[1] Yet, apart altogether from the number of such sayings, it is plain that whenever he had in view the relations of mankind, the gist of his preaching was to enforce brotherliness and ministering love, and the surest part of the impression he left behind him was that in his own life and labours he displayed both of these very qualities. "One is your Master, and ye are all brethren"; "Whoso would be first among you shall be servant of all; for the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." It is in this sense that we are to understand the commandment to love one's neighbour. How unqualified it is, becomes evident from the saying, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you;[2] that ye may be sons of your Father in heaven, for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust." "Blessed are the merciful"—that is the keynote of all that Jesus proclaimed, and as this merciful spirit is to extend from great things to trifles, from the inward

[1] One recalls particularly the parable of the good Samaritan, with its new definition of "neighbour," and also the parable of the lost son; among the stories, that of the rich young man. The gospel of the Hebrews tells the latter incident with especial impressiveness. "Then said the Lord to him, How canst thou say, 'I have kept the law and the prophets,' when it is written in the law, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'? And look, many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are lying in dirt and dying of hunger, while thy house is full of many possessions, and never a gift comes from it to them."

[2] The saying, "Fast for them that persecute you," is also traditional (Didachê, i.).

to the outward, the saying which does not pass over even a cup of cold water (Matt. x. 42) lies side by side with that other comprehensive saying, "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." Brotherliness is love on a footing of equality; ministering love means to *give and to forgive*, and no limit to this is to be recognized. Besides, *ministering love is the practical expression of love to God.*

While Jesus himself was exhibiting this love, and making it a life and a power, his disciples were learning the highest and holiest thing that can be learned in all religion, namely, to believe in the love of God. To them the Being who had made heaven and earth was "the Father of mercies and the God of all comfort"—a point on which there is no longer any dubiety in the testimony of the apostolic and post-apostolic ages. Now, for the first time, that testimony rose among men, which cannot ever be surpassed, the testimony that *God is Love.* The first great statement of the new religion, into which the fourth evangelist condensed its central principle, was based entirely and exclusively on love: "We love, because He first loved us," "God so loved the world," "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another." And the greatest, strongest, deepest thing Paul ever wrote is the hymn commencing with the words: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels, but have not love, I am become sounding brass or a clanging cymbal." The new language on the lips of Christians was the language of love.

But it was more than a language, it was a thing of power and action. The Christians really considered

themselves brothers and sisters, and their actions corresponded to this belief. On this point we possess two unexceptionable testimonies from pagan writers. Says Lucian of the Christians: "Their original lawgiver had taught them that they were all brethren, one of another. . . . They become incredibly alert when anything of this kind occurs, that affects their common interests. On such occasions no expense is grudged." And Tertullian (*Apolog.*, xxxix.) observes: "It is our care for the helpless, our practice of lovingkindness, that brands us in the eyes of many of our opponents. 'Only look,' they say, 'look how they love one another!' (they themselves being given to mutual hatred). 'Look how they are prepared to die for one another!' (they themselves being readier to kill each other)."[1] Thus had this saying been really fulfilled: "Hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."

The gospel thus became a social message. The preaching which laid hold of the outer man, detaching him from the world, and uniting him to his God, was also a preaching of solidarity and brotherliness. The gospel, it has been truly said, is at bottom both individualistic and socialistic. Its tendency towards mutual association, so far from being an accidental phenomenon in its history, is inherent in its character. It spiritualizes the irresistible impulse which draws one man to another, and it raises the social connection of human beings from the sphere of a convention

[1] Also Cæcilius (in *Minut. Felix*, ix.): "They recognize each other by means of secret marks and signs, and love one another almost before they are acquainted."

to that of a moral obligation. In this way it serves to heighten the worth of man, and essays to recast contemporary society, to transform the socialism which involves a conflict of interests into the socialism which rests upon the consciousness of a spiritual unity and a common goal. This was ever present to the mind of the great apostle to the Gentiles. In his little churches, where each person bore his neighbour's burden, Paul's spirit already saw the dawning of a new humanity, and in the epistle to the Ephesians he has voiced this feeling with a thrill of exultation. Far in the background of these churches, like some unsubstantial semblance, lay the division between Jew and Gentile, Greek and Barbarian, great and small, rich and poor. For a new humanity had now appeared, and the apostle viewed it as Christ's body, in which every member served the rest and each was indispensable in his own place. Looking at these churches, with all their troubles and infirmities, he anticipated, in his high moments of enthusiasm, what was the development of many centuries.[1]

We cannot undertake to collect from the literature of the first three centuries all the passages where love and charity are enjoined. This would lead us too far afield, although we would come across much valuable material in making such a survey. We would notice the reiteration of the summons to unconditional giving, which occurs among the

[1] Warnings against unmercifulness, and censures of this temper, must have begun, of course, at quite an early period; see the epistle of James (iv.–v.) and several sections in the "Shepherd" of Hermas.

sayings of Jesus, whilst on the contrary we would be astonished to find that passages enforcing the law of love are not more numerous, and that they are so frequently overshadowed by ascetic counsels; we would also take umbrage at the spirit of a number of passages in which the undisguised desire of being rewarded for benevolence stands out in bold relief.[1] Still, this craving for reward is not in every

[1] All these points are illustrated throughout the literature, from the Didachê and Hermas downwards. For unconditional giving, see Did. i. 5 f: *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων. μακάριος ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἀθῷος γάρ ἐστιν· οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γάρ χρείαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἀθῷος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρείαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνα τί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῷ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην* ("Give to everyone who asks of thee, and ask not back again; for the Father desireth gifts to be given to all men from his own bounties. Blessed is he who gives according to the commandment, for he is guiltless. But woe to him who receives; for if a man receives who is in need, he is guiltless, but if he is not in need he shall give satisfaction as to why and wherefore he received, and being confined he shall be examined upon his deeds, and shall not come out till he has paid the uttermost farthing"). The counsel of unconditional giving, which is frequently repeated, is closely bound up with the question of earthly possessions in the early church, and consequently with the question of asceticism. Theoretically, from the very outset, there was to be neither property nor wealth at all; such things belonged to the world which Christians were to renounce. Consequently, to devote one's means to other people was a proceeding which demanded a fresh point of view; to part with one's property was the authorized and most meritorious course of action, nor did it matter, in the first instance, who was the recipient. In practical life, however, things were very different, and this was constantly the result of the very theory just mentioned, since it never gave up the voluntary principle (even the attempt at communism in Jerusalem, if there even was such an attempt, did not exclude the voluntary principle). It was by means of this principle that Christian love maintained its power. In

case immoral, and no conclusion can be drawn from the number of times when it occurs. The important thing is to determine what actually took place within the sphere of Christian charity and active love, and this we shall endeavour to ascertain.

Three passages may be brought forward to show the general activities which were afoot.

In the official writing sent by the Roman to the

practical life complete renunciation of the world was achieved only by a few; these were the saints and heroes. Other people were in precisely the same position, with the same feelings and concern, as serious, devoted Catholics at the present day; they were actuated by motives of asceticism and of love alike. It is needless, therefore, to depict this state of matters in closer detail. The extreme standpoint is put by Hermas, *Sim.*, I. (see above, pp. 117–118).

A great deal has been written upon early Christian "communism," but nothing of the kind ever existed in the great Gentile church—for we need not take any account of an isolated phenomenon like the semi-pagan sect of the Carpocratians and their communism. Monastic "communism" is only called such by a misuse of the term, and, besides, it is irrelevant to our present subject. Even on the soil of Jewish Christianity no communism flourished, for the example of the Essenes was never followed. Uhlhorn remarks truly (*op. cit.*, p. 68; Eng. trans., 74) that "We cannot more radically misconceive the so-called 'communism' of early Christianity than by conceiving it as an institution similar to those which existed among the Essenes and the Therapeutæ. It is far more correct to represent the state of things as an absence of all institutions whatsoever." Directions not infrequently occur (*e.g.*, *Barn.*, xix. 8; Tert., *Apol.*, xxxix.) which have a communistic ring, but they are not to be taken in a communistic sense. The common formula, "οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι" ("thou shalt not say these things are thine own"), simply enjoins liberality, forbidding a man to use his means merely for his own advantage.

I have already remarked that, upon the whole, the voluntary principle was never abandoned in the matter of Christian giving and the scale of gifts. This statement, however, admits of one qualification. While the West, so far as I can judge, knew

Corinthian church *c.* 96 A.D., there is a description of the first-rate condition of the latter up till a short time previously (1 Clem., i., ii.), a description which furnishes the pattern of what a Christian church should be, and the approximate realization of this ideal at Corinth. "Who that had stayed with you did not approve your most virtuous and stedfast faith? Who did not admire your sober and forbearing Christian piety? Who did not proclaim the splendid style of your *hospitality*? Who did not congratulate you on your perfect and assured knowledge? For you did everything *without respect of persons*; you walked by the ordinances of God, submitting to your rulers and rendering due honour to your senior men. Young persons also you charged to have a modest and grave mind; women you instructed to discharge all their tasks with a blameless, grave, and pure conscience, and to cherish a proper affection for their husbands, teaching them further to look after their households decorously, with perfect discretion. You were all lowly in mind, free from vainglory, yielding rather than claiming submission, *more ready to give than to take*; content with the supplies provided by God and holding by them, you carefully laid up His words in your hearts,

nothing as yet of the law of first-fruits and tithes throughout our epoch (for Cyprian: *de unit.*, xxvi. is not to be understood as implying the law of tithes), in some quarters of the East the law of first-fruits was taken over at a very early period (see *Didachê*, xiii.). From the Didachê it passed, as an apostolic regulation, into all the Oriental apostolic constitutions. Origen, however, does not appear to regard it yet as a law of the church, though even he admits the legitimacy of it (*in Num. Hom.*, xi. 1; *in Jos. Nav. Hom.*, xvii.).

and His sufferings were ever present to your minds. Thus a profound and unsullied peace was bestowed on all, with *an insatiable craving for beneficence.* . . . Day and night you agonized for all the brotherhood, that *by means of compassion and care* the number of God's elect might be saved. You were sincere, guileless, and void of malice among yourselves. Every sedition and every schism was an abomination to you. *You lamented the transgressions of your neighbours and judged their shortcomings to be your own. You never rued an act of kindness, but were ready for every good work.*"

Then Justin concludes the description of Christian worship in his *Apology* (c. lxvii.) thus: "Those who are well-to-do and willing, give as they choose, each as he himself purposes; the collection is then deposited with the president, who succours orphans, widows, those who are in want owing to sickness or any other cause, those who are in prison, and strangers who are on a journey."

Finally, Tertullian (*Apolog.*, xxxix.) observes: "Even if there does exist a sort of common fund, it is not made up of fees, as though we contracted for our worship. Each of us puts in a small amount one day a month, or whenever he pleases; but only if he pleases and if he is able, for there is no compulsion in the matter, everyone contributing of his own free will. These monies are, as it were, the deposits of piety. They are expended upon no banquets or drinking-bouts or useless eating-houses, but on feeding and burying poor people, on behalf of boys and girls who have neither parents nor money, in support of old folk unable now to go about, as well as for people

who are shipwrecked, or who may be in the mines or exiled in islands or in prison—so long as their distress is for the sake of God's fellowship, and they themselves entitled to maintenance by their confession."

In what follows we shall discuss, so far as may be relevant to our immediate purpose—

1. Alms in general, and their connection with the cultus and officials of the church.
2. The support of teachers and officials.
3. The support of widows and orphans.
4. The support of the sick, the infirm, and the disabled.
5. The care of prisoners and people languishing in the mines.
6. The care of poor people needing burial, and of the dead in general.
7. The care of slaves.
8. The care of those visited by great calamities.
9. The churches furnishing work, and insisting upon work.
10. The care of brethren on a journey (hospitality), and of churches in poverty or any peril.

1. *Alms in general and in connection with the cultus.* —Liberality was steadily enjoined upon Christians; indeed, the headquarters of this virtue were to lie within the household, and its proof was to be shown in daily life. From the apostolic counsels down to Cyprian's great work *de opere et eleemosynis*, there stretches one long line of injunctions, in the course of which ever-increasing stress is laid upon the importance of alms to the religious position of the donor, and upon the prospect of a future recompense. These

points are already prominent in Hermas, and in 2 Clem. we are told that "almsgiving is good as a repentance from sin; fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving is better than either" (*καλὸν ἐλεημοσύνη ὡς μετάνοια ἁμαρτίας, κρείσσων νηστεία προσευχῆς, ἐλεημοσύνη δὲ ἀμφοτέρων*). Cyprian develops alms[1] into a formal means of grace, the only one indeed which remains to a Christian after baptism; in fact he goes still further, representing alms as a spectacle which the Christian offers to God.[2]

[1] *De op. et eleem.*, i.: "Nam cum dominus adveniens sanasset illa quae Adam portaverat vulnera et venena serpentis antiqui curasset, legem dedit sano et pracepit ne ultra jam peccaret, ne quid peccanti gravius eveniret. Coartati eramus et in angustum innocentiae praescriptione conclusi. nec haberet quid fragilitatis humanae infirmitas atque imbecillitas faceret; nisi *iterum* pietas divina subveniens justitiae et misericordiae operibus ostensis viam quandam tuendae salutis aperiret ut sordes postmodum, quascumque contrahimus, *eleemosynis* abluamus ("For when the Lord had at his advent cured the wounds which Adam brought, and healed the poison of the old serpent, he gave a law to the sound man and bade him sin no more, lest a worse thing should befal the sinner. We were restrained and bound by the commandment of innocence. Nor would human weakness and impotence have any resource left to it, unless the divine mercy should *once more* come to our aid, by pointing out works of righteousness and mercy, and thus opening a way to obtain salvation, so that by means of *alms* we may wash off any stains subsequently contracted").

[2] *Op. cit.*, xxi. "Quale munus cuius editio deo spectante celebratur! Si in gentilium munere grande et gloriosum videtur proconsules vel imperatores habere presentes, et apparatus ac sumptus apud munerarios maior est ut possint placere maioribus—quanto inlustrior muneris et maior est gloria deum et Christum spectatores habere, quanto istic et apparatus uberior et sumptus largior exhibendus est, ubi ad spectaculum conveniunt caelorum virtutes, conveniunt angeli omnes, ubi munerario non quadriga vel consulatus petitur sed vita aeterna praestatur, nec captatur inanis et temporarius favor vulgi sed perpetuum praemium regni caelestis accipitur" ("What a gift

It is not our business to follow up this aspect of almsgiving, or to discuss the amount of injury thus inflicted on a practice which was meant to flow from a pure love to men. The point is that a great deal, a very great deal, of alms was given away privately throughout the Christian churches. As we have already seen, this was well known to the heathen world.[1]

But so far from being satisfied with private almsgiving,[2] early Christianity instituted, apparently from

is it which is set forth for praise in the sight of God! If, when the Gentiles offer gifts, it seems a great and glorious thing to have proconsuls or emperors present, and if their better classes make greater preparations and display in order to please the authorities—how much more illustrious and splendid is the glory of having God and Christ as the spectators of a gift! How much more lavish should be the preparation, how much more liberal the outlay, in such a case, when the powers of heaven muster to the spectacle, when all the angels gather, when the donor seeks no chariot or consulship, but life eternal is the boon; when no fleeting and fickle popularity is craved for, but the lasting reward of the kingdom of heaven is received").

[1] With Clement of Alexandria, the motive of love to men is steadily kept in the front rank; cp. *Paed.*, iii., and in particular the fine saying in iii. 7. 39: *καθάπερ τῶν φρεάτων ὅσα πέφυκεν βρύειν ἀπαντλούμενα εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀναπιδύει μέτρον, οὕτως ἡ μετάδοσις, ἀγαθὴ φιλανθρωπίας ὑπάρχουσα πηγή, κοινωνοῦσα τοῖς διψῶσι ποτοῦ αὔξεται πάλιν καὶ πίμπλαται* ("Even as such wells as spring up, rise to their former level even after they have been drained, so that kindly spring of love to men, the bestowal of gifts, imparts its drink to the thirsty, and is again increased and replenished"). Cyprian (in *de unit.*, xxvi.) complains of a lack of benevolence: "Largitas operationis infracta est . . . . nunc de patrimonio nec decimas damus et cum vendere jubeat dominus, emimus potius et augemus" ("Liberality in benevolence is impaired . . . . we do not now give even the tithe of our patrimony away. The Lord bids us sell, but we prefer to buy and lay up").

[2] One recommendation very frequently made, was to stint oneself by means of fasting in order to give alms. In this way, even the poor could offer something. See Hermas, *Sim.*, v.; Aristides, *Apol.*,

the first, a church fund (Tertullian's *arca*), and associated charity very closely with the cultus and officials of the church. From the ample materials at our disposal, the following outline may be sketched :— Every Sunday (cp. already 1 Cor. xvi. 2), or once a month (Tertullian), or whenever one chose, gifts in money or kind (*stips*) were brought to the service and entrusted to the president, by whom they were laid on the Lord's table and so consecrated to God.[1] Hence the recipient obtained them from the hand of God. "'Tis God's grace and philanthropy that support you," wrote Bishop Cornelius (Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 43). The president decided who were to be the recipients, and how much was to be allocated to each, a business in which he had the advice of the deacons, who were expected to be as familiar as possible with the circumstances of each member, and who had the further task of distributing the various donations, partly at the close of worship, partly in the homes of the indigent. In addition to the regular voluntary assessments—for, as the principle of liberty of choice was strictly maintained, we cannot otherwise describe

xv. ("And if anyone among them is poor or needy, and they have no food to spare, they fast for two or three days, that they may meet the poor man's need of sustenance"); *Apost. Constit.*, v. 1, etc. The habit also occurs in pre-Christian ages. Otherwise, whenever the question is raised, how alms are to be provided, one is pointed to work; in fact, this is almost the only point at which work is taken into consideration at all, within the sphere of the religious estimate. See Eph. iv. 28 ("Let him that stole, steal no more, but rather work with his hands at honest work, *so that he may have something to give the needy*"); and Barn. xix. 10: διὰ χειρῶν σου ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρον ἁμαρτιῶν σου [the reference being to alms].

[1] The relation of *stips* and *oblationes* is a question which has not been cleared up yet, and need not be raised here.

these offerings—there were also extraordinary gifts, such as the present of 200,000 sesterces brought by Marcion when, as a Christian from Asia, he entered the Roman church about the year 139.[1]

From the very first, the president appears to have had practically an absolute control over the donations;[2] but the deacons had also to handle them as executive agents. The responsibility was heavy, as was the temptation to avarice and dishonesty; hence the repeated counsel, that bishops (and deacons) were to be ἀφιλάργυροι, "no lovers of money." It was not until a later age that certain principles came to be laid down with regard to the distribution of donations as a whole, from which no divergence was permissible.

This system of organized charity in the churches worked side by side with private benevolence—as is quite evident from the letters and writings of Cyprian. But it was inevitable that the former should gradually handicap the latter, since it wore a superior lustre of religious consecration, and therefore, people were convinced, was more acceptable to God. Yet, in special cases, private liberality was still appealed to. One splendid instance is cited by Cyprian (*Epist.*, lxii.), who describes how the Carthaginian churches speedily raised 100,000 sesterces (between £850 and £1000).[3]

The demands made upon the church funds were

[1] See on this point Book IV. Chap. I. (1). The money was returned.

[2] On the traces of an exception to this rule in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, see *Texte u. Untersuch.*, ii. 5, pp. 12 f., 58.

[3] For special collections, ordered by the bishop, see Tertull., *de jejun.*, xiii., and *Clem. Hom.*, iii. 71, ὁπότε χρεία τινὸς πόρου πρὸς τὸ ἀναγκαῖον γένοιτο, ἅμα οἱ πάντες συμβάλλεσθε ("Whenever any funds are needed, club together, all of you").

heavy,[1] as will appear in the course of the following classification and discussion.

2. *The support of teachers and officials.*—The Pauline principle[2] that the rule about a "labourer being worthy of his hire" applied also to missionaries and teachers, was observed without break or hesitation throughout the Christian churches. The conclusion drawn was that teachers could lay claim to a plain livelihood, and that this claim must always have precedence of any other demand upon the funds. When a church had chosen permanent officials for itself, these also assumed the right of being allowed to claim a livelihood, but only so far as their official duties made inroads upon their civil occupations.[3] Here, too, the bishop had dis-

[1] In 250 A.D. the Roman church had to support about 100 clergy and 1500 poor persons. Taking the yearly cost of supporting one man at £7, 10s. (which was approximately the upkeep of one slave), we get an annual sum of £12,000. If, however (like Uhlhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 153, Eng. trans., p. 159), we allow sixty Roman bushels of wheat per head a year at 7s. 6d., we get a total of about £4300. We are safe to say, then, that about 250 A.D. the Roman church had to expend from half a million to a million sesterces (*i.e.* from £5000 to £10,000) by way of relief.

[2] Paul even describes the principle as a direction of Jesus himself; see 1 Cor. ix. 14, ὁ κύριος διέταξεν τοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλουσιν ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν.

[3] The circumstances are not quite transparent to us; still, enough is visible to corroborate what has been said above. Church-officials were not, in the first instance, obliged to abandon their civil calling, and so far as that provided them with a livelihood, they had no claim upon the church's funds. But in the course of time it became more and more difficult, in the larger churches, to combine civil employment with ecclesiastical office. There is one very instructive account in the Clementine Homilies (iii. 71) which indicates that some people were sceptical upon the duty of supporting the bishop and clergy. The author writes: Ζακχαῖος [the bishop] μόνος ὑμῖν

cretionary power; he could appropriate and hand over to the presbyters and deacons whatever he thought suitable and fair, but he was bound to provide the teachers (*i.e.*, missionaries and prophets) with enough to live on day by day. Obviously, this could not fail to give rise to abuses. From the Didachê and Lucian we learn that such abuses did arise and that privileges were misemployed.[1]

ὅλος ἑαυτὸν ἀσχολεῖν ἀποδεδωκώς, κοιλίαν ἔχων καὶ ἑαυτῷ μὴ εὐσχολῶν, πῶς δύναται τὴν ἀναγκαίαν πορίζειν τροφήν; οὐχὶ δὲ εὔλογον ἐστιν πάντας ὑμᾶς τοῦ ζῆν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖν, οὐκ ἀναμένοντας αὐτὸν ὑμᾶς αἰτεῖν, τοῦτο γὰρ προσαιτοῦντός ἐστιν· μᾶλλον δὲ τεθνήξεται λιμῷ ἢ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὑποσταίη· πῶς δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐ δίκην ὑφέξετε, μὴ λογισάμενοι ὅτι "ἄξιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ"; καὶ μὴ λεγέτω τις· Οὐκοῦν ὁ δωρεὰν παρασχεθεὶς λόγος πωλεῖται; μὴ γένοιτο· εἴ τις γὰρ ἔχων πόθεν ζῆν λάβοι, οὗτος πωλεῖ τὸν λόγον—εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔχων τοῦ ζῆν χάριν λαμβάνει τροφήν, ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἔλαβεν ἔν τε δείπνοις καὶ φίλοις, οὐδὲν ἔχων ὁ εἰς αὖθις πάντα ἔχων, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει. ἀκολούθως οὖν τιμᾶτε [by an honorarium] πρεσβυτέρους κατηχητάς, διακόνους χρησίμους, χήρας εὖ βεβιωκυίας, ὀρφανοὺς ὡς ἐκκλησίας τέκνα ("Zacchæus alone has devoted himself wholly to your interests; he needs food, and yet has no time to provide for himself; how then is he to get the requisitive provisions for a livelihood? Is it not reasonable that you should all provide for his support? Do not wait for him to ask you—asking is a beggar's rôle, and he would rather die than stoop to that. Shall not you also incur punishment for failing to consider that 'the labourer is worthy of his hire'? Let no one say, 'Then is the word which was given freely, to be sold?' God forbid. If any man has means and yet accepts any help, *he* sells the word. But there is no sin in a man without means accepting support in order to live—as the Lord also accepted gifts at supper and among his friends, he who had nothing though he was the Lord of all things. Honour, then, in appropriate fashion the elder catechists, useful deacons, respectable widows, and orphans as children of the church"). A fixed monthly salary, such as that assigned by the church of Theodotus to her bishop Natalis, was felt to be obnoxious. (Cp. the ancient account in Eus., *H.E.*, v. 28.)

[1] Details will be found below, in the chapter [Book III. Chap. I.] on the mission-agents.

3. *The support of widows and orphans.*[1]—Wherever the early Christian records mention poor persons who require support, widows and orphans are invariably in the foreground. This corresponds, on the one hand, with the special distress of their position in the ancient world, and on the other hand with the ethical injunctions which had passed over into Christianity from Judaism. As it was, widows and orphans formed the poor κατ' ἐξοχήν. The church had them always with her. "The Roman church," wrote bishop Cornelius, "supports 1500 widows and poor persons" (Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 43). Only widows, we note, are mentioned side by side with the general category of recipients of relief. Inside the churches, widows had a special title of honour, viz., "God's altar,"[2] and even Lucian the pagan was aware that Christians attended first and foremost to orphans and to widows (*Peregrin.*, xii.). The true worship, James had already urged (i. 27), is to visit widows and orphans in their distress, and Hermas (*Mand.*, viii. 10) opens his catalogue of virtues with the words: χήραις ὑπηρετεῖν, ὀρφανοὺς καὶ ὑστερημένους ἐπισκέπτεσθαι ("to serve widows and visit the forlorn and orphans").[3] It is

[1] In the liturgy, widows and orphans are also placed immediately after the servants of the church.

[2] See Polycarp, *ad Phil.* iv., Tert. *ad uxor.* i. 7, pseudo-Ignat. *Tars.* 9, and *Apos. Constit.*, ii. 26 (where the term is applied also to orphans; cp. iv. 3). I shall not discuss the institution of Widows, already visible in the first epistle to Timothy, which also tended to promote their interests. The special attention devoted to widows was also meant to check the undesirable step of remarriage.

[3] In *Vis.*, II. 4. 3 it is remarkable also how prominent are widows and orphans. See Aristides, *Apol.*, xv.: "They do not avert their

beyond question that the early church made an important contribution to the amelioration of social conditions among the lower classes, by her support of widows.[1]

4. *The support of the sick, the infirm, the poor, and the disabled.*—Mention has already been made of the cure of sick people; but where a cure was impossible the church was bound to support the patient by consolation (for they were remembered in the prayers of the church from the very first; cp. 1 Clem.

attention from widows, and they deliver orphans from anyone who oppresses them." Instances of orphans being adopted into private families are not wanting. Origen, for example, was adopted by a Christian woman (Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 2); cp. *Acta Perpet. et Felic.*, xv.; *Apost. Const.*, iv. 1. Lactantius (*Instit.*, vi. 12) adduces yet another special argument for the duty of supporting widows and orphans:—"God commands them to be cared for, in order that no one may be hindered from going to his death for righteousness' sake on the plea of regard for his dear children, but that he may promptly and boldly encounter death, knowing that his beloved ones are left in God's care and will never lack protection."

[1] See, further, Herm., *Simil.* i., v. 3, ix. 26–27, x. 4; Polyc. *epist.*, vi. 1; Barn. xx. 2; Ignat. *Smyrn.*, vi. (*à propos* of heretics: "They care not for love, or for the widow, or for the orphan, or for the afflicted, or for the prisoner or ransomed, or for the hungry or thirsty"—περὶ ἀγάπης οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς, οὐ περὶ χήρας, οὐ περὶ ὀρφανοῦ, οὐ περὶ θλιβομένου, οὐ περὶ δεδεμένου ἢ λελυμένου, ἢ περὶ πεινῶντος ἢ διψῶντος), *ad Polyc.* iv.; Justin's *Apol.*, I. lxvii.; Clem., *ep. ad Jacob.* 8 (τοῖς μὲν ὀρφανοῖς, ποιοῦντες τὰ γονέων, ταῖς δὲ χήραις τὰ ἀνδρῶν, "acting the part of parents to orphans and of husbands to widows"); Tert., *ad uxor.*, i. 7–8; *Apost. Constit.* (Bks. III., IV.); and pseudo-Clem., *de virgin.*, i. 12 ("pulchrum et utile est visitare pupillos et viduas, imprimis pauperes qui multos habent liberos"). For the indignation roused by the heartlessness of many pagan ladies, who were abandoned to luxury, read the caustic remark of Clement (*Paedag.*, iii. 4. 30): παιδίον δὲ οὐδὲ προσίενται ὀρφανὸν αἱ τοὺς ψιττακοὺς καὶ τοὺς χαραδριοὺς ἐκτρέφουσαι ("They bring up parrots and curlews, but will not take in the orphan child").

lix. 4), visitation,[1] and charitable gifts (usually in kind). Next to the sick came those in trouble (ἐν θλίψει) and people sick in soul (κάμνοντες τῇ ψυχῇ, Herm., *Mand.*, viii. 10) as a rule, then the helpless and disabled (Tertullian singles out expressly *senes domestici*), finally the poor in general. To quote passages would be superfluous, for the duty is repeatedly inculcated; besides, concrete examples are fairly plentiful, although our records only mention such cases incidentally and quite accidentally.[2] Deacons, "widows," and deaconesses (though the last-named were apparently confined to the East) were set apart for this work. It is said of deacons in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (see *Texte u. Unters.*, ii. 5. 8 f.): "They are to be doers of good works, exercising a general supervision day and night, neither scorning the poor nor respecting the person of the rich; they must ascertain who are in distress and not exclude them from a share in the church funds,

[1] See Tert., *ad uxor.*, ii. 4, on the difficult position of a Christian woman whose husband was a pagan: "Who would be willing to let his wife go through street after street to other men's houses, and indeed to the poorer cottages, in order to visit the brethren?"

[2] Among the methods of maintenance we must also reckon the agapê or love-feast, where poor folk could eat their fill. But at an early period the function of the agapê became quite rudimentary and was diverted from its real aim (1 Cor. xi., Jude 12; Tert. *de jejun.*, xvii.), the latter result being due to the inroads of luxury, as may be gathered, *e.g.*, from Clem. *Paed.*, ii. 1, and Tert. *Apol.*, xxxix. Love-feasts, however, were not extinct at the opening of the third century. Naturally, neither private nor, for the matter of that, church charity was to step in where a family was able to support some helpless member; but it is evident, from the sharp remonstrance in 1 Tim. v. 8, that there were attempts made to evade this duty ("If anyone does not provide for his own people, and especially for his own household, he has renounced the faith and is worse than an infidel").

compelling also the well-to-do to put money aside for good works." Of "widows" it is remarked, in the same passage, that they should render aid to women afflicted by disease, and the trait of φιλόπτωχος (a lover of the poor) is expected among the other qualities of a bishop.[1] In an old legend dating from the Decian persecution, there is a story of the deacon Laurentius in Rome, who, when desired to hand over the treasures of the church, indicated the poor as her only treasures. This was audacious, but it was not incorrect; from the very first, any possessions of the church were steadily characterized as poor-funds, and this remained true during the early centuries.[2] The excellence of the church's charitable system, the deep impression made by it, and the numbers that it won over to the faith, find their best voucher in the action of Julian the apostate, who attempted an exact reproduction of it in that artificial creation of his, the pagan State-church, in order to deprive the Christians of this very weapon. The imitation, of course, had no success.[3]

[1] *Apost. Constit.*, in *Texte u. Unters.*, ii. 5. 8 f. On the female diaconate, see Uhlhorn (*op. cit.*, 159–171, Eng. trans. 165 f.).

[2] It was not possible, of course, to relieve all distress, and Tertullian (*de idolat.*, xxiii.) mentions Christians who had to borrow money from pagans. This does not seem to have been quite a rare occurrence.

[3] We may certainly conclude that a register was kept of those who had to be maintained. This very fact, however, was a moral support to poor people, for it made them sure that they were not being neglected. To what extent did Christians also support non-Christians? This is a question on which we have no data adequate for an answer. The church's fund was certainly reserved for the use of the brethren, but the charity of private individuals cannot have confined itself to fellow-believers. In a great calamity, as we know from reliable evidence (see below), Christians did extend

5. *Care for prisoners and for people languishing in the mines.*—The third point in the catalogue of virtues given by Hermas is: ἐξ ἀναγκῶν λυτροῦσθαι τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ("Redeem the servants of God from their bonds"). Prisoners might be innocent for various reasons, but above all there were people incarcerated for their faith or imprisoned for debt, and both classes had to be reached by charity. In the first instance, they had to be visited and consoled, and their plight alleviated by gifts of food.[1] Visiting prisoners was the regular work of the deacons, who had thus to run frequent risks; but ordinary Christians were also expected to discharge this duty. If the prisoners had been arrested for their faith, and if they were rather distinguished teachers, there was no hardship in obeying the

their aid to pagans, exciting the admiration of the latter, and their helping hand would not be wanting in other ways as well; see Paul, Gal. vi. 10 (ἐργαζώμεθα τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως), and Tertull., *Apol.*, xlii. ("Our compassion gives away more money in the streets than yours does in the temples").

[1] Heb. x. 34, τοῖς δεσμίοις συνεπαθήσατε: Clem. Rom., lix. 4 (in the church's prayer), λύτρωσαι τοὺς δεσμίους ἡμῶν: Ignat. *Smyrn.*, vi. (the duty of caring περὶ δεδεμένου ἢ λελυμένου): Clem., *ep. ad Jacob.*, 9 (τοῖς ἐν φυλακαῖς ἐπιφαινόμενοι ὡς δύνασθε βοηθεῖτε): Arist., *Apol.*, xv. ("And if they hear that anyone of their number is imprisoned or in distress for the sake of their Christ's name, they all render aid in his necessity, and if he can be redeemed, they set him free"). Of the young Origen we are told (Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 3) that "not only was he at the side of the holy martyrs in their imprisonment, and until their final condemnation, but when they were led to death, he boldly accompanied them into danger." Cp. Tert., *ad mart.*, i. f. (both the church and charitable individuals supplied prisoners with food), *Acta Pass. Perpet.*, iii.; Petri Alex., *ep.*, c. 2; (Lagarde's *Reliq. jur. eccles.*, p. 64, 14 f.), c. 11 (*ibid.*, p. 70, 1 f.), c. 12 (p. 70, 20 f.).

command; in fact, many moved heaven and earth to get access to prisoners,[1] since it was considered that there was something sanctifying about intercourse with a confessor. In order to gain admission they would even go the length of bribing the gaolers,[2] and thus manage to smuggle in decent meals and crave a blessing from the saints. The records of the martyrs are full of such tales. Even Lucian knew of the practice, and pointed out the improprieties to which it gave rise. Christian records, particularly those of a later date,[3] corroborate this, and as early as the Montanist controversy it was a burning question whether or no any prominent confessor was really an impostor, if, after being imprisoned for misdemeanours, he made out as if he had been imprisoned on account of the Christian faith. Such abuses, however, were

[1] Thekla, in the *Acta Theclæ*, is one instance, and many others are extant; *e.g.*, in Tertull., *ad uxor.*, ii. 4.

[2] As in Thekla's case; see also Lucian's *Peregr.*, xii. and the *Epist. Lugd.*, in Euseb., *H.E.*, v. 1. 61.

[3] Cp. Lucian, *Peregr.*, xii., xiii., xvi. ("costly meals"). Tertullian, at the close of his life, when he was filled with bitter hatred towards the Catholic church, wrote thus in *de jejun.*, xii.: "Plainly it is your way to furnish restaurants for dubious martyrs in the gaols, lest they miss their wonted fare and so grow weary of their life, taking umbrage at the novel discipline of abstinence! One of your recent martyrs (no Christian he!) was by no means reduced to this hard régime. For after you had stuffed him during a considerable period, availing yourselves of the facilities of free custody, and after he had disported himself in all sorts of baths (as if these were better than the bath of baptism), and in all resorts of pleasure in high life (as if these were the secret retreats of the church), and with all the seductive pursuits of such a life (preferable, forsooth, to life eternal) —and all this, I believe, just in order to prevent any craving for death—then on the last day, the day of his trial, you gave him in broad daylight some medicated wine (in order to stupefy him against the torture)!"

inevitable, and upon the whole their number was not large. The keepers, secretly impressed by the behaviour of the Christians, often consented of their own accord to let them communicate with their friends (*Acta Perpet.*, ix.: "Pudens miles optio, praepositus carceris, nos magnificare coepit, intelligens magnam virtutem esse in nobis; qui multos ad nos admittebat, ut et nos et illi invicem refrigeraremus" "(Pudens, a military subordinate in charge of the prison, began to have a high opinion of us, since he recognized there was some great power of God in us. He let many people in to see us, that we and they might refresh one another").

If any Christian brethren were sentenced to the mines, they were still looked after even there.[1] Their names were carefully noted; attempts were made to keep in touch with them; efforts were concocted to procure their release,[2] and brethren were sent to ease their lot, to edify and to encourage them.[3] The care

[1] Cp. Dionysius of Corinth (in Eus., *H.E.*, iv. 23), who pays a brilliant testimony to the Roman church in this connection.

[2] Cp. the story told by Hippolytus (*Philos.*, ix. 12) of the Roman bishop Victor, who kept a list of all Christians sentenced to the mines in Sardinia, and actually procured their liberty through the intercession of Marcia to the Emperor Commodus.

[3] Some extremely beautiful examples of this occur in the treatise of Eusebius upon the Palestinian martyrs during the Diocletian persecution. The Christians of Egypt went to the most remote mines, even to Cicilia, to encourage and edify their brethren who were condemned to hard labour in these places. In the mines at Phaeno a regular church was organized. Cp. also *Apost. Constit.*, v. 1: *εἴ τις Χριστιανὸς διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ χριστοῦ . . . . κατακριθῇ ὑπὸ ἀσεβῶν εἰς . . . . μέταλλον, μὴ παρίδητε αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ κόπου καὶ τοῦ ἱδρῶτος ὑμῶν πέμψατε αὐτῷ εἰς διατροφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς μισθοδοσίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν* ("If any Christian is condemned for Christ's sake

shown by Christians for prisoners was so notorious that (according to Eusebius, *H.E.*, v., 8), Licinius, the last emperor before Constantine who persecuted the Christians, passed a law to the effect that "no one was to show kindness to sufferers in prison by supplying them with food, and that no one was to show mercy to those who were starving in prison." "In addition to this," Eusebius proceeds to relate, "a penalty was attached, to the effect that those who showed compassion were to share the fate of the objects of their charity, and that those who were humane to the unfortunate were to be flung into bonds and imprisonment and endure the same suffering as the others." This law, which was directly aimed at Christians, shows more clearly than anything else could do, the care lavished by Christians upon their captive brethren, although much may have crept in in connection with this, which the State could not tolerate.

But they did more than try to merely alleviate the lot of prisoners. Their aim was to get them ransomed. Instances of this cannot have been altogether rare, but unfortunately it is difficult for us to form any judgment on this matter, since in a number of instances, when a ransom is spoken of, we cannot be sure whether prisoners or slaves are meant. Ransoming captives, at any rate, was regarded as a work which was specially noble and well-pleasing to God, but it never appears to have been undertaken by any church. To the last it remained a monopoly of

. . . . to the mines by the ungodly, do not overlook him, but from the proceeds of your toil and sweat send him something to support himself and to reward the soldiers").

private generosity, and along this line individuals displayed a spirit of real heroism.[1]

6. *Care of poor people requiring burial, and of the dead in general.*—Tertullian declares (see p. 189) that the burial of poor brethren was performed at the expense of the common fund, and Aristides (*Apol.*, xv.) corroborates this, although with him it takes the form of private charity. "Whenever," says Aristides, "one of their poor passes from the world, one of them looks after

[1] Herm., *Sim.*, I.: ἀντὶ ἀγρῶν ἀγοράζετε ψυχὰς θλιβομένας, καθά τις δυνατός ἐστιν ("instead of fields buy souls in trouble, as each of you is able"); *Sim.*, X. iv. 2 f.; *Clem. Rom.*, lv. 2: ἐπιστάμεθα πολλοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότας ἑαυτοὺς εἰς δεσμά, ὅπως ἑτέρους λυτρώσονται· πολλοὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐξέδωκαν εἰς δουλείαν, καὶ λαβόντες τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν ἑτέρους ἐψώμισαν ("We know that many of our own number have given themselves up to be captives, in order to ransom others; many have sold themselves to slavery, and with the price of their own bodies they have fed others"); *Apost. Constit.*, iv. 9: τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου κόπου ἀθροιζόμενα χρήματα διατάσσετε διακονοῦντες εἰς ἀγορασμοὺς τῶν ἁγίων ῥυόμενοι δούλους καὶ αἰχμαλώτους, δεσμίους, ἐπηρεαζομένους, ἥκοντας κὶ καταδίκης, κ.τ.λ. ("All monies accruing from honest labour do ye appoint and apportion to the redeeming of the saints, ransoming thereby slaves and captives, prisoners, people who are sore abused or condemned by tyrants," etc.), cp. v. 1–2. In *idolol.*, xxiii., Tertullian refers to release from imprisonment for debt, or to the efforts made by charitable brethren to prevent such imprisonment. When the Numidian robbers carried off the local Christians, the Carthaginian church soon gathered the sum of 100,000 sesterces as ransom-money, and declared it was ready to give still ampler aid (Cypr., *ep.* lxii.). When the Goths captured the Christians in Cappadocia about the year 255, the Roman church sent contributions in aid of their ransom (Basil., *ep. ad Dam.*, lxx.). See below (10) for both of these cases. The ransoming of captives continued even in later days to be reckoned a work of special merit. Le Blant has published a number of Gallic inscriptions dating from the fourth and fifth centuries, in which the dead person is commended because "he ransomed prisoners."

him and sees to his burial, according to his means." We know the great importance attached to an honourable burial in those days, and the pain felt at the prospect of having to forego this privilege. In this respect the Christian church was meeting a sentiment which even its opponents felt to be a human duty. Christians, no doubt, were expected to feel themselves superior to any earthly ignominy, but even they felt it was a ghastly thing not to be buried decently. The deacons were specially charged with the task of seeing that everyone was properly interred (*Const. Ap.*, iii. 7),[1] and in certain cases they did not restrict themselves to the limits of the brotherhood. "We cannot bear," says Lactantius (*Instit.*, vi. 12), "that the image and workmanship of God should be exposed as a prey to wild beasts and birds, but we restore it to the earth from which it was taken, and do this office of relatives even to the body of a person whom we do not know, since in their room humanity must step in."[2] At this point also we must include the care of the dead after burial. These were still

[1] A certain degree of luxury was even allowed to Christians; cp. Tertull., *Apol.*, xlii.: "If the Arabians complain of us [for giving them no custom], let the Sabeans be sure that the richer and more expensive of their wares are used as largely in burying Christians as in fumigating the gods." Another element in a proper burial was that a person should lie among his companions in the faith.

[2] The question of the relation between the churches and the collegia tenuiorum (collegia funeraticia) may be set aside. Besides, during the past decade it has passed more and more out of notice. No real light has been thrown by such guilds upon the position of the churches, however convincing may be the inference that the rights obtained by these collegia may have been for a time available to Christians as well. Cp. Neumann, *Röm. Staat und Kirche*, i. 102 f.

regarded in part as destitute and fit to be supported. Oblations were presented in their name and for the welfare of their souls, which served as actual intercessions on their behalf. This primitive custom was undoubtedly of immense significance to the living; it comforted many an anxious relative, and helped to intensify in a peculiar way the attractive power of Christianity.[1]

7. *Care for slaves.*—It is a mistake to suppose that any "slave question" occupied the early church. The primitive Christians looked on slavery with neither a more friendly nor a more hostile eye than they did upon the State and legal ties.[2] They never dreamt of working for the abolition of the State, nor did it ever occur to them to abolish slavery for humane or other reasons—not even amongst themselves. The New Testament epistles already assume that Christian masters have slaves (not merely that pagan masters have Christian slaves), and they give no directions for any change in this relationship. On the contrary, slaves are earnestly admonished to be faithful and obedient.[3]

[1] Tertullian is our first witness for this custom. It did not spring up independently of pagan influence, though it may have at least *one* root within the Christian cultus itself.

[2] The Didachê (iv. 11) even bids slaves obey their (Christian) masters, ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ("as a type of God").

[3] The passages in Paul's epistles are well known; see also 1 Peter. In his letter to Philemon, Paul neither expects nor asks the release of the slave Onesimus. The only possible sense of 1 Cor. vii. 20 f. (ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ κλήσει ᾗ ἐκλήθη, ἐν ταύτῃ μενέτω· δοῦλος ἐκλήθης; μή σοι μελέτω· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον χρῆσαι) is that the apostle counsels slaves not even to avail themselves of the chance of freedom. Any alteration of their position would divert their minds to the things of earth — such

Still, it would not be correct to assert that primitive Christianity was indifferent to slaves and their condition. On the contrary, the church did turn her attention to them, and effected some change in their condition. This follows from such considerations as these:—

(*a*) Converted slaves, male or female, were regarded in the full sense of the term as brothers and sisters from the standpoint of religion. Compared to this, their position in the world was reckoned a matter of indifference.[1]

seems to be the writer's meaning. It is far from certain whether we may gather from this passage that Christian slaves begged from Christian masters the chance of freedom more often than their pagan fellows.

[1] Paul is followed on this point by others; *e.g.*, Tatian, *Orat.*, xi.; Tertull., *de Corona*, xiii.; and Lactantius, *Instit.*, v. 16, where, in reply to the opponents who cry out, "You too have masters and slaves! Where then is your so-called equality?" the answer is given, "Alia causa nulla est cur nobis invicem fratrum nomen impertiamus nisi quia pares esse nos credimus. Nam cum omnia humana non corpore sed spiritu metiamur, tametsi corporum sit diversa condicio, nobis tamen servi non sunt, sed eos et habemus et dicimus spiritu fratres, religione conservos" ("Our sole reason for giving one another the name of brother is because we believe we are equals. For since all human objects are measured by us after the spirit and not after the body, although there is a diversity of condition among human bodies, yet slaves are not slaves to us; we deem and term them brothers after the spirit, and fellow-servants in religion"). De Rossi (*Boll. di Arch. Christ.*, 1866, p. 24) remarks on the fact that the title "slave" never occurs in the sepulchral inscriptions of Christianity. Whether this is accidental or intentional, is a question which I must leave undecided. On the duty of Christian masters to instruct their slaves in Christianity, cp. Arist., *Apol.*, xv.: "Slaves, male and female, are instructed so that they become Christians, on account of the love felt for them by their masters; and when this takes place, they call them brethren without any distinction whatsoever."

(*b*) They shared the rights of church members to the fullest extent. Slaves could even become clergymen, and in fact bishops.[1]

(*c*) As personalities (in the moral sense) they were to be just as highly esteemed as freemen. The sex of female slaves had to be respected, nor was their modesty to be outraged. The same virtues were expected from slaves as from freemen, and consequently their virtues earned the same honour.[2]

[1] The Roman presbyter or bishop, Pius, the brother of Hermas, must have belonged to the class of slaves. Callistus, the Roman bishop, was originally a slave. Cp. the eightieth canon of Elvira: "Prohibendum ut liberti, quorum patroni in saeculo fuerint, ad clerum non promoveantur" ("It is forbidden to hinder freedmen from being advanced to the rank of clergy, whose owners may be still alive").

[2] Ample material on this point is to be found in the Acts of the martyrs. Reference may be made in especial to Blandina, the Lyons martyr, and to Felicitas in the Acts of Perpetua Not a few slaves rank among "the holy martyrs" of the church. Unless it were set down in the text, who would imagine that Blandina was a slave—Blandina, who is held in high honour by the church, and whose character has such noble traits? Cp. also the penitential ordinance appointed for those cunning Christian masters who had forced their Christian slaves to offer sacrifice during the Diocletian persecution (canons 6 and 7 of Peter Alex., in Routh's *Reliq. Sacr.*, iv. 29 f.). The masters are to do penance for three years καὶ ὡς ὑποκρινάμενοι καὶ ὡς καταναγκάσαντες τοὺς ὁμοδούλους θῦσαι, ἅτε δὴ παρακούσαντες τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὰ αὐτὰ θέλοντος ποιεῖν τοὺς δεσπότας τοῖς δούλοις, ἀνιέντας τὴν ἀπειλήν, εἰδότας, φησίν, ὅτι καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ κύριός ἐστιν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ προσωπολήψια παρ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν (Eph. vi. 9; then follows Col. iii. 11) . . . . σκοπεῖν ὀφειλοῦσιν ὃ κατειργάσαντο θελήσαντες τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτῶν σῶσαι, οἱ τοὺς συνδούλους ἡμῶν ἑλκύσαντες ἐπὶ εἰδωλολατρείαν δυναμένους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκφυγεῖν, εἰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὴν ἰσότητα ἦσαν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντες, ὡς πάλιν ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει (Col. iv. 1) ("For having played the hypocrite and for having compelled their fellow-servants to sacrifice—in disobedience to the apostle, who enjoins masters and servants to do the same things,

(*d*) Masters and mistresses were strictly charged to treat all their slaves humanely, but on the other hand to remember that Christian slaves were their own brethren.[1] Christian slaves, for their part, were told not to disdain their Christian masters, *i.e.*, they were not to regard themselves as their equals.[2]

(*e*) To set a slave free was looked upon probably from the very beginning as a praiseworthy action;[3] otherwise no Christian slave could have had any claim to be emancipated. Although the primitive church did not admit any such claim on their part, least of all any claim of this kind on the funds of the church, there were cases in which slaves had their ransom paid for

and to forbear threatening, knowing, saith he, that you and they have a Lord in heaven, with whom there is no respect of persons . . . . They ought to consider this compulsion of theirs, due to their desire to save their own lives, by which they drag our fellow-servants into idolatry, when they could themselves avoid it—that is, if masters treated them justly and equitably, as the apostle once more observes"). Only a single year's penance was imposed on slaves thus seduced. Tertullian, on the contrary (*de idol.*, xvii.), shows that the same courage and loyalty was expected from Christian slaves and freedmen as from the highly-born. The former were not to hand the wine or join in any formula when they attended their pagan lords at sacrifice. Otherwise they were guilty of idolatry.

[1] A long series of testimonies, from the Lyons epistle onwards, witness to the fact that Christian masters had heathen slaves. Denunciations of their Christian masters by such slaves, and calumnies against Christian worship, cannot have been altogether uncommon.

[2] As early as 1 Tim. vi. 1 f. It proves that Christianity must have been in many cases "misunderstood" by Christian slaves.

[3] Authentic illustrations of this are not available, of course.

out of such funds.[1] The church never condemned the rights of masters over slaves as sinful; it simply saw in them a natural relationship. In this sphere the source of reform lay, not in Christianity, but in general considerations derived from moral philosophy and in economic necessities.

From one of the canons of the Council of Elvira (*c.* 300 A.D.), as well as from other minor sources, we learn that even in the Christian churches, during the third century in particular, cases unfortunately did occur in which slaves were treated with revolting harshness and barbarity.[2]

[1] From the epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp (iv.) two inferences may be drawn: (1) that slaves were ransomed with money taken from the church collections, and (2) that no *claim* to this favour was admitted. Δούλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφάνει· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ φυσιούσθωσαν [Christian slaves could easily lose their feelings of deference towards Christian owners], ἀλλ' εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πλέον δουλευέτωσαν, ἵνα κρείττονος ἐλευθερίας ἀπὸ θεοῦ τύχωσιν· μὴ ἐράτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, ἵνα μὴ δοῦλοι εὑρεθῶσιν ἐπιθυμίας ("Despise not male or female slaves. Yet let not these again be puffed up, but let them be all the better servants to the glory of God, that they may obtain a better freedom from God. Let them not crave to be freed at the public cost, lest they be found to be slaves of lust").

[2] Canon v.: "Si qua femina furore zeli accensa flagris verberaverit ancillam suam, ita ut intra tertium diem animam cum cruciatu effundat," etc. ("If any mistress, in a fit of passion, scourges her handmaid, so that the latter expires within three days," etc.). Canon xli. also treats of masters and slaves. We do not require to discuss the dispensation given by Callistus, bishop of Rome, to matrons for entering into sexual relations with slaves, as the object of this dispensation was to meet the case of high-born ladies who were bent on marriage, and not to admit that slaves had equal rights. Hippol., *Philos.*, ix. 12: καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ ἄνανδροι εἶεν καὶ ἡλικίᾳ γε ἐκκαίοιντο ἀναξίᾳ ἢ ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν μὴ βούλοιντο καθαιρεῖν διὰ τὸ νομίμως γαμηθῆναι, ἔχειν ἕνα ὅν ἂν αἱρήσωνται, σύγκοιτον, εἴτε οἰκέτην, εἴτε ἐλεύθερον, καὶ τοῦτον κρίνειν ἀντὶ ἀνδρὸς

8. *Care for people visited by great calamities.*—As early as Hebrews x. 32 f. a church is commended for having nobly stood the test of a great persecution and calamity, thanks to sympathy and solicitous care. From that time onward, we frequently come across counsels to Christian brethren to show themselves specially active and devoted in any emergencies of distress; not counsels merely, but also actual proofs that they bore fruit. We shall not, at present, go into cases in which churches lent aid to sister churches, even at a considerable distance; these fall to be noticed under section 10. But some examples referring to calamities within a church itself may be set down at this stage of our discussion.

When the plague raged in Alexandria (about 259 A.D.), bishop Dionysius wrote (Euseb., *H.E.*, vii. 22): "The most of our brethren did not spare themselves, so great was their brotherly affection. They held fast to each other, visited the sick without fear, ministered to them assiduously, and served them for the sake of Christ. Right gladly did they perish with them. . . . . Indeed many did die, after caring for the sick and giving health to others, transplanting the death of others, as it were, into themselves. In this way the noblest of our brethren died, including some presbyters and deacons and people of the highest reputation. . . . . Quite the reverse was it with the heathen. They abandoned those who began to sicken, fled from

μὴ νόμῳ γεγαμημένην ("He even permitted women, if unmarried and inflamed with a passion unworthy of their age, or unwilling to forfeit their position for the sake of a legal marriage, to have anyone they liked as a bedfellow, either slave or free, and to reckon him their husband although he was not legally married to them").

their dearest friends, threw out the sick when half-dead into the streets, and let the dead lie unburied."

A similar tale is related by Cyprian of the plague at Carthage. He exclaims to the pagan Demetrianus (x.): "Pestem et luem criminaris, cum peste ipsa et lue vel detecta sint vel aucta crimina singulorum, dum nec infirmis exhibetur misericordia et defunctis avaritia inhiat ac rapina. idem ad pietatis obsequium timidi,[1] ad impia lucra temerarii, fugientes morientium funera et adpetentes spolia mortuorum ("You blame plague and disease, when plague and disease either swell or disclose the crimes of individuals, no mercy being shown to the weak, and avarice and rapine gaping greedily for the dead. The same people are sluggish in the discharge of the duties of affection, who rashly seek impious gains; they shun the death-beds of the dying, but make for the spoils of the dead"). Cyprian's advice is seen in his treatise *de mortalitate*. His conduct, and the way he inspired other Christians by his example, are narrated by his biographer Pontianus (*Vita*, ix. f.): "Adgregatam primo in loco plebem de misericordiae bonis instruit. docet divinae lectionis exemplis . . . . tunc deinde subiungit non esse mirabile, si nostros tantum debito caritatis obsequio foveremus; cum enim perfectum posse fieri, qui plus aliquid publicano vel ethnico fecerit, qui malum bono vincens et divinae clementiae instar exercens inimicos quoque dilexerit. . . . Quid Christiana plebs faceret, cui de fide nomen est? distributa sunt ergo continuo pro qualitate hominum atque ordinum

[1] Cp. Cyprian, *per Pont.*, ix.: "Jacebant interim tota civitate vicatim non jam corpora, sed cadavera plurimorum" ("Meanwhile all over the city lay, not bodies now, but the carcases of many").

ministeria [organized charity, then]. Multi qui paupertatis beneficio sumptus exhibere non poterant, plus sumptibus exhibebant, compensantes proprio labore mercedem divitiis omnibus cariorem . . . . fiebat itaque exuberantium operum largitate, quod bonum est ad omnes, non ad solos domesticos fidei ("The people being assembled together, he first of all urges on them the benefits of mercy. By means of examples drawn from the sacred lessons, he teaches them. . . . Then he proceeds to add that there is nothing remarkable in cherishing merely our own people with the due attentions of love, but that one might become perfect who should do something more than heathen men or publicans, one who, overcoming evil with good, and practising a merciful kindness like to that of God, should love his enemies as well. . . . What should a Christian people do, a people whose very name was derived from faith? The contributions are always distributed then according to the degree of the men and of their respective ranks. Many who, on the score of poverty, could not make any show of wealth, showed far more than wealth, as they made up by personal labour an offering dearer than all the riches in the world. Thus the good done was done to all men, and not merely to the household of faith, so richly did the good works overflow").

We hear exactly the same story of practical sympathy and self-denying love displayed by Christians even to outsiders, in the great plague which occurred in the reign of Maximinus Daza (Eus., *H.E.*, ix. 8). "Then did they show themselves to the heathen in the clearest light. For the Christians were the only people who amid such terrible ills showed their fellow-

feeling and humanity by their actions. Day by day some would busy themselves with attending to the dead and burying them (for there were numbers to whom no one else paid any heed); *others gathered in one spot all who were afflicted by hunger throughout the whole city, and gave bread to them all.* When this became known, people glorified the Christians' God, and, convinced by the very facts, confessed the Christians alone were truly pious and religious."

It may be inferred with certainty, as Eusebius himself avows, that cases of this kind made a deep impression upon those who were not Christians, and that they gave a powerful impetus to the propaganda.

9. *The churches furnishing work and insisting upon work.*—Christianity at the outset spread chiefly among people who had to work hard. The new religion did not teach its votaries "the dignity of labour," or "the noble pleasure invariably afforded by work." What it inculcated was just the *duty* of work.[1] "If any will not work, neither let him eat" (2 Thess. iii. 10). Over and again it was enunciated that the duty of providing for others was conditioned by their incapacity for work. The brethren had soon to face the fact that some of their number were falling into restless and lazy habits, as well as the sadder fact that these very people were selfishly trying to trade upon the charity of their neighbours. This was so notorious

[1] At the same time there was a quiet undercurrent of feeling expressed by the maxim that absolute devotion to religion was a higher plane of life—"The heavenly Father who feeds the ravens and clothes the lilies will provide for us." Apostles and prophets (with the heroes of asceticism, of course, from the very outset) did not require to work. In their case, sacred duties constituted work.

that even in the brief compass of the Didachê there is a note of precautions which are to be taken to checkmate such attempts, while in Lucian's description of the Christians he singles out, as one of their characteristic traits, a readiness to let cunning impostors take advantage of their brotherly love.[1]

Christianity cannot be charged at any rate with promoting mendicancy or with underestimating the duty of work.[2] Even the charge of being "infructuosi in negotiis" (of no use in practical affairs) was repudiated by Tertullian. "How so?" he asks. "How can that be when such people dwell beside you, sharing your way of life, your dress, your habits and the same needs of life? We are no Brahmins or Indian gymnosophists, dwelling in woods and exiled from life. . . . We stay beside you in this world, making use of the forum, the provision-market, the bath, the booth, the workshop, the inn, the weekly market, and all other places of commerce. We sail with you, fight at your side, till the soil with you, and traffic with you; we likewise join our technical skill to that of others, and make our works public property for your use" (*Apol.* xlii.).[3] Even clerics

[1] The pseudo-Clementine *de virgin.*, i. 11, contains a sharp warning against the "otiosi," or lazy folk, who talk about religion instead of attending to their work.

[2] Cp. 2 Thess. iii. 6: παραγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου I. X. στέλλεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος, cp. ver. 12.

[3] Tertullian at this point is suppressing his personal views; he speaks from the standpoint of the majority of Christians. In reality, as we see from the treatise *de idololatria*, he was convinced that there was hardly a single occupation or business in which any Christian could engage without soiling his conscience with idolatry.

were not exempted from making a livelihood,[1] and admirable sayings on the need of labour occur in Clement of Alexandria as well as in other writers. We have already observed (pp. 192–3) that one incentive to work was found in the consideration that money could thus be gained for the purpose of supporting other people, and this idea was by no means thrown out at random. Its frequent repetition, from the epistle to the Ephesians onwards, shows that people recognized in it a powerful motive for the industrious life. It was also declared in simple and stirring language that the labourer was worthy of his hire, and a fearful judgment was prophesied for those who defrauded workmen of their wages (see especially Jas. v. 4 f.). It is indeed surprising that work was spoken of in such a sensible way, and that the duty of work was inculcated so earnestly, in a society which was so liable to fanaticism and indolence.

But we have not yet alluded to what was the really noticeable feature in this connection. We have already come across several passages which would lead us to infer that, together with the recognition that every Christian brother had the right to a bare

[1] The earliest restrictions on this point occur in the canons of the Synod of Elvira (canon xix.). They are very guarded. "Episcopi, presbyteres et diacones de locis suis [this is the one point of the prohibition] negotiandi causa non discedant . . . sane ad victum sibi conquirendum aut filium, aut libertum, aut mercenarium, aut amicum, aut quemlibet mittant; et si voluerint negotiari, intra provinciam negotientur" ("Let no bishop or presbyter or deacon leave his place for the purpose of trading . . . . he can, of course, send his son, or his freedman, or his hired servant, or a friend, or anyone else, to procure provisions; but if he wishes to transact business, he must confine himself to his own sphere").

provision for livelihood, the early Christian church also admitted its obligation to secure this minimum either by furnishing him with work or else by maintaining him. Thus we read in the pseudo-Clementine homilies (*ep. Clem.*, viii.): "For those able to work, provide work; and to those incapable of work, be charitable."[1] Cyprian also (ch. ii.) assumes that if the church forbids some teacher of dramatic art to practise his profession, it must look after him, or, in the event of his being unable to do anything else, provide him with the necessaries of life.[2] We were not aware, however, if this was really felt to be a duty by the church at large, till the discovery of the Didachê. This threw quite a fresh light on the situation. In the Didachê (xii.) it is ordained that no brother who is able to work is to be maintained by any church for more than two or three days. The church accordingly had the right of getting rid of such brethren. But the reverse side of this right was a duty. "If any brother has a trade, let him follow that trade and

[1] Παρέχοντες μετὰ πάσης εὐφροσύνης τὰς τροφάς . . . . τοῖς ἀτέχνοις διὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐννούμενοι τὰς προφάσεις τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς· τεχνίτῃ ἔργον, ἀδρανεῖ ἔλεος ("Providing supplies with all kindliness . . . . furnishing those who have no occupation with employment, and thus with the necessary means of livelihood. To the artificer, work; to the incapable, alms").

[2] "Si paenuriam talis et necessitatem paupertatis obtendit, potest inter ceteros qui ecclesiae alimentis sustinentur huius quoque necessitatis adiuvari, si tamen contentus sit frugalioribus et innocentibus cibis nec putet salario se esse redimendum, ut a peccatis cesset" ("Should such a person allege penury and the necessities of poverty, his wants may also be met among those of the other people who are maintained by the church's aliment—provided always that he is satisfied with plain and frugal fare. Nor is he to imagine he must be redeemed by means of an allowance of money, in order to cease from sins").

earn the bread he eats. If he has no trade, exercise your discretion in *arranging for him to live among you as a Christian but not in idleness.* If he will not do this (*i.e.*, engage in the work with which you furnish him), he is trafficking with Christ (χριστέμπορος). Beware of men like that." It is beyond question, therefore, that a Christian brother could demand work from the church, and that the church had to furnish him with work. What bound the members together, then, was not merely the duty of supporting one another—that was simply the *ultima ratio*; it was the fact that they formed a guild of workers, in the sense that the churches had to provide work for a brother whenever he required it. This fact seems to me of great importance, from the social standpoint. The churches were also labour unions. The case attested by Cyprian proves that there is far more here than any merely rhetorical maxim. The church did become in this way a refuge for people in distress, who were prepared to work. Its attractive power was consequently intensified, and from the economic standpoint we must attach very high value to a union which provided work for those who were able to work, and at the same time kept hunger from those who were unfit for any labour.

10. *Care for brethren on a journey (hospitality) and for churches in poverty or peril.*[1]—The diaconate

[1] I have based this section on a study of my own which appeared in the *Monatsschrift f. Diakonie und innere Mission* (Dec. 1879, Jan. 1880); but, as the relations of the individual church with Christendom in general fall to be noticed in this section, I have deemed it appropriate to treat the subject in greater detail. The ideal back-

went outside the circle of the individual church, when it deliberately extended its labours to include the relief of *strangers*, *i.e.*, in the first instance, of Christian brethren on their travels. In our oldest account of Christian worship on Sunday (Justin, *Apol.*, I. lxvii.; see above, p. 189), strangers on their travels are included in the list of those who receive support from the church-collections. This form of charity was thus considered part of the church's business, instead of merely being left to the goodwill of individuals; though people had recourse in many ways to the private method, while the virtue of hospitality was repeatedly inculcated on the faithful.[1] In the first epistle of Clement to the Corinthian

ground of all this enterprise and activity may be seen in Tertullian's remark (*de praescr.*, xx.): "Omnes ecclesiae una; probant unitatem ecclesiarum communicatio pacis et appellatio fraternitatis et contesseratio hospitalitatis" ("All churches are one, and the unity of the churches is shown by their peaceful intercommunion, the title of brethren, and the bond of hospitality").

[1] Rom. xii. 13, "Communicating to the necessities of the saints, given to hospitality"; 1 Pet. iv. 9, "Using hospitality one towards another without murmuring"; Heb. vi. 10, xiii. 2, "Forget not to show love to strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares." Individuals are frequently commended by Paul to the hospitality of the church; *e.g.*, Rom. xvi. 1 f., "Receive her in the Lord, *as becometh the saints*." See also 3 John 5–8. In the "Shepherd" of Hermas (*Mand.*, viii. 10) hospitality is distinctly mentioned in the catalogue of virtues, with this remarkable comment: ἐν γὰρ τῇ φιλοξενίᾳ εὑρίσκεται ἀγαθοποίησίς ποτε ("for benevolence from time to time is found in hospitality"), while in *Sim.*, viii. 10. 3, praise is assigned to those Christians who εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν ἡδεῶς ὑπεδέξαντο τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ("gladly welcomed God's servants into their houses"). Aristides, in his *Apology* (xv.), says that if Christians "see any stranger, they take him under their roof and rejoice over him as over a very brother" (ξένον ἐὰν ἴδωσιν, ὑπὸ στέγην εἰσάγουσι καὶ χαίρουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὡς ἐπὶ

church, it is particularly noted, among the distinguishing virtues of the church, that anyone who had stayed there praised their splendid sense of hospi-

ἀδελφῷ ἀληθινῷ). The exercise of hospitality by private individuals towards Christian brethren is assumed by Tertullian to be a duty which no one dare evade; for, in writing to his wife (*ad uxor.*, ii. 4), he warns her against marrying a heathen, should he (Tertullian) predecease her, on the ground that no Christian brother would get a spiritual reception in an alien household. But hospitality was inculcated especially upon officials of the church, such as elders (bishops) and deacons, who practised this virtue in the name of the church at large; cp. 1 Tim. iii. 2, Tit. i. 8 (1 Tim. v. 10). In Hermas (*Sim.*, ix. 27. 2) hospitable bishops form a special class among the saints, since "they gladly received God's servants into their houses at all times and without hypocrisy." In the Didachê a comparatively large amount of space is taken up with directions regarding the care of travellers, and Cyprian's interest in strangers is attested by his seventh letter, written to his clergy at Carthage from his place of retreat during the Decian persecution. He writes:—"I beg you will attend carefully to the widows, and sick people, and all the poor. You may also pay the expenses of any strangers who may be in need, out of my own portion which I left with my fellow-presbyter Rogatianus. In case it should be all used, I hereby forward by the hands of Naricus the acolyte another sum of money, so that the sufferers may be dealt with more promptly and liberally" ("Viduarum et infirmorum et omnium pauperum curam peto diligenter habeatis, sed et peregrinis si qui indigentes fuerint sumptus suggeratis de quantitate mea propria quam apud Rogatianum compresbyterum nostrum dimisi. Quae quantitas ne forte iam erogata sit, misi eidem per Naricum acoluthum aliam portionem, ut largius et promptius circa laborantes fiat operatio"). Cp. also *Apost. Const.*, iii. 3 (p. 98, 9 f., ed. Lagarde), and *Ep. Clem. ad Jacob* (p. 9, 10 f., ed. Lagarde): τοὺς ξένους μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἴκους λαμβάνετε ("Receive strangers into your homes with all readiness"). In his satire on the death of Peregrinus (xvi.), Lucian describes how his hero, on becoming a Christian, was amply provided for on his travels. "Peregrinus thus started out for the second time, and betook himself to travelling; he had an ample allowance from the Christians, who constituted themselves his

tality.[1] But during the early centuries of Christianity it was the Roman church more than any other which was distinguished by the generosity with which it practised this virtue. In one document from the reign of Marcus Aurelius, a letter of Dionysius the bishop of Corinth to the Roman church, it is acknowledged that the latter has maintained its *primitive* custom of showing kindness to *foreign* brethren. "Your worthy bishop Soter has not merely kept up this practice, but even extended it, by aiding the saints with rich supplies, which he sends from time to time, and also by addressing blessed words of comfort to brethren coming up to Rome, like a loving father to his children" (Eus., *H.E.*, iv. 23. 10). We shall return to this later on; meanwhile it may be pointed out, in this connection, that the Roman church owed its rapid rise to supremacy in Western Christendom, not simply to its geographical position within the capital of the empire, or to the fact of its having been the seat of apostolic activity throughout the West, but also to the fact that it recognized the special obligation of caring for Christians in general, which fell to it as the church of the imperial capital. A living interest in the collective church of Christ throbbed with peculiar vigour throughout the Roman church, as we shall see, from the very outset, and

bodyguard, so that he lived in clover. Thus for some time he provided for himself in this fashion." From the pseudo-Clementine epistle *de virginitate* one also learns to appreciate the appeal and exercise of hospitality.

[1] 1 *Clem.*, i. 2: τίς γὰρ παρεπιδημήσας πρὸς ὑμᾶς . . . . τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῆς φιλοξενίας ὑμῶν ἦθος οὐκ ἐκήρυξεν ("What person who has sojourned among you . . . . has not proclaimed your splendid, hospitable disposition?"); cp. above, p. 188.

the practice of hospitality was one of its manifestations. At a time when Christianity was still a homeless religion, the occasional travels of the brethren were frequently the means of bringing churches together which otherwise would have had no common tie; while in an age when Christian captives were being dragged off, and banished to distant spots throughout the empire, and when brethren in distress sought shelter and solace, the practical proof of hospitality must have been specially telling. As early as the second century one bishop of Asia Minor even wrote a book upon this virtue.[1] So highly was it prized within the churches that it was put next to faith as the genuine proof of faith. "For the sake of his faith and hospitality, Abraham had a son given him in his old age." "For his hospitality and piety was Lot saved from Sodom." "For the sake of her faith and hospitality was Rahab saved." Such are the examples of which, in these very words, the Roman church reminds her sister at Corinth.[2] Nor was this exercise of hospitality merely an aid in passing. The obligation of work imposed by the Christian church has been already mentioned (cp. pp. 215 f.); if any visitors wished to settle down, they had to take up some work, as is plain from the very provision made for such cases. The church then had to make it feasible for such people to practise their own trades, or else to provide them with some other suitable occupation (Didachê, xii.).

It was easy to take advantage of a spirit so obliging

[1] Melito of Sardes, according to Eusebius (*H.E.*, iv. 26. 2).

[2] 1 *Clem.*, x. 7, xi. 1, xii. 1.

and unsparing (*e.g.*, the case of Proteus Peregrinus, and especially the churches' sad experience of so-called prophets and teachers). Heretics could creep in, and so could loafers or impostors. We note, accordingly, that definite precautions were taken against these at quite an early period. The new arrival is to be tested, to see whether or not he is a Christian (cp. 2 and 3 John; Did., xii.). In the case of an itinerant prophet, his words are to be compared with his actions. No brother is to remain idle in any place for more than two days, or three at the very most; after that, he must either leave or labour (Did., xii.). Later on, any brother on a journey was required to bring with him a passport from his church at home. Things must have come to a sad pass when (as the Didachê informs us) it was ordained that any visitor must be adjudged a false prophet without any more ado, if during an ecstasy he ordered a meal and then partook of it, or if in an ecstasy he asked for money. Many a traveller, however, who desired to settle down, did not come with empty hands; such persons did not ask, they gave. Thus we know (see above) that when Marcion came from Pontus and joined the Roman church, he contributed 200,000 sesterces to its funds (Tert., *de praescr.*, xxx.). Still, such cases were the exception; as a rule, visitors were in need of assistance.

Care lavished on brethren on a journey blossomed naturally into a sympathy and care for any distant churches in poverty or peril. The keen interest shown in a guest could not cease when he left the threshold of one's house or passed beyond the city

gates. And more than this, the guest occupied the position of a representative to any church at which he arrived; he was a messenger to them from some distant circle of brethren who were probably entire strangers and were yet related to them. His account of the distress and suffering of his own church, or of its growth and spiritual gifts, was no foreign news. The primitive churches were sensible that their faith and calling bound them closely together in this world; they felt, as the apostle enjoined, that "if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it, while if one member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it" (1 Cor. xii. 26). And there is no doubt whatever that the consciousness of this was most vigorous and vital in the very ages during which no external bond as yet united the various churches, the latter standing side by side in almost entire independence of each other. These were the ages when the primitive article of the common symbol, "I believe in one holy church," was really nothing more than an *article of faith.* And of course the effect of the inward ties was all the stronger, when people were participating in a common faith, which found expression ere long in a brief and vigorous confession, or practising the same love and patience and Christian discipline, or turning their hopes in common to that glorious consummation of Christ's kingdom, of which they had each received the earnest and the pledge. These common possessions stimulated brotherly love; they made strangers friends, and brought the distant near. "By secret signs and marks they manage to recognize one another, loving each other almost before they are

acquainted"; thus are Christians described by the pagan Cæcilius (*Min. Felix*, ix. 3). Changes afterwards took place; but this vital sense of belonging to *one brotherhood* never wholly disappeared.

In the great prayers of thanksgiving and supplication offered every Sabbath by the churches, there was a fixed place assigned to intercession for the whole of Christendom throughout the earth. Before very long this kindled the consciousness that every individual member belonged to the holy unity of Christendom, just as it also kept them mindful of the services which they owed to the general body. In the epistles and documents of primitive Christianity, wherever the church-prayers emerge, their œcumenical character is made very clear and conspicuous.[1] The particular means of intercourse were provided by epistles, circular letters, collections of epistles, the transmission of acts or of official records, or by travellers and special messengers. When matters of importance were at stake, the bishops themselves went forth to settle controversial questions or to arrange a common basis of agreement. It is not our business in these pages to describe all this varied intercourse. We shall confine ourselves to the task of gathering and explaining those passages in which one church came to the aid of another in any case of need. Poverty, sickness, persecution, and suffering of all kinds, formed one class of troubles which demanded constant help on the part of churches that were better off; while, in a different direction, assistance was required in those internal crises of doctrine and of conduct which might threaten a church and

[1] Cp. 1 *Clem.* lix. 2 f. with my notes *ad loc.*

in fact endanger its very existence. Along both of these lines the brotherly love of the churches had to prove its reality.

The first case of one church supporting another occurs at the very beginning of the apostolic age. In Acts xi. 27 f. we read that Agabus in Antioch foretold a famine. On the news of this, the young church at Antioch made a collection on behalf of the poor brethren in Judæa, and despatched the proceeds to them by the hands of Barnabas and Paul.[1] It was a Gentile Christian church which was the first, so far as we are aware, to help a sister church in her distress. Shortly after this, the brotherly love felt by young Christian communities drawn from pagans in Asia and Europe, is reported to have approved itself on a still wider scale. Even after the famine had passed, the mother church at Jerusalem continued poor. Why, we do not know. An explanation has been sought in the early attempt by which that church is said to have introduced a voluntary community of goods; it was the failure of this attempt, we are to believe, that left the local church impoverished. This is merely a vague conjecture. Nevertheless, the poverty at Jerusalem remains a fact. At the critical conference in Jerusalem, when the three pillar-apostles definitely recognized Paul's mission to the Gentiles, the latter pledged himself to remember the poor saints at Jerusalem in distant lands, and the epistles to the Galatians, the Corinthians, and the Romans, show

[1] No doubt, the account (in Acts) of the Antiochene donation and of the journey of Barnabas and Paul to Jerusalem, does lie open to critical suspicion (see Overbeck, *ad loc.*).

how widely and faithfully the apostle discharged this obligation. His position in this matter was by no means easy. He had made himself responsible for a collection whose value depended entirely on the *voluntary* devotion of the churches which he founded. But he was sure he could rely on them, and in this he did not deceive himself. Paul's churches made his concerns their own, and money for the brethren far away at Jerusalem was collected in Galatia, Macedonia, and Achaia. Even when the apostle had to endure the sight of all his work in Corinth being endangered by a severe local crisis, he did not fail to remember the business of the collection along with more important matters. The local arrangements for it had almost come to a standstill by the time he wrote, and the aim of his vigorous, affectionate, and graceful words of counsel to the church is to revive the zeal which had been allowed to cool amid their party quarrels (2 Cor. viii. 9). Not long afterwards he is able to tell the Romans that "those of Macedonia and Achaia *freely chose* to make a certain contribution for the poor saints at Jerusalem. They have done it willingly, and indeed it was a debt. For if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, they owe it to them also to minister to them in secular things" (Rom. xv. 26 f.). In this collection Paul saw a real duty of charity which rested on the Gentile churches, and one has only to realize the circumstances under which the money was gathered in order to understand the meaning it possessed for the donors themselves. As yet, there was no coming or going between the Gentile and the Judean Christians, though the former had to admit that

the latter were one with themselves as brethren and as members of a single church. The churches in Asia and Europe were imitators of the churches of God in Judæa (1 Thess. ii. 14), yet they had no fellowship in worship, life, or customs. This collection formed, therefore, the one visible expression of that brotherly unity which otherwise was rooted merely in their common faith. This was what lent it a significance of its own. For a considerable period this devotion of the Gentile Christians to their distressed brethren in Jerusalem was the sole manifestation, even in visible shape, of the consciousness that all Christians shared an inner fellowship. We do not know how long the contributions were kept up. The great catastrophes which occurred in Palestine after 65 A.D. had a disastrous effect at any rate upon the relations between Gentile Christians and their brethren in Jerusalem and Palestine.[1]—Forty years later the age of persecutions burst upon the churches, though no general persecution occurred until the middle of the third century. When some churches were in distress, their possessions seized[2] and their existence imperilled, the others could not feel happy in their

[1] The meaning of Heb. vi. 10 is uncertain. I may observe at this point that more than three centuries later Jerome employed this Pauline collection as an argument to enforce the duty of all Christians throughout the Roman empire to support the monastic settlements at the sacred sites of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. In his treatise against Vigilantius (xiii.), who had opposed the squandering of money to maintain monks in Judæa, Jerome argues from 2 Cor. viii., etc., without more ado as a scriptural warrant for such collections.

[2] Even by the time of Domitian, Christian churches were liable to poverty, owing to the authorities seizing their goods; cp. Heb. x. 34 (if the epistle belongs to this period), and Eus., *H.E.*, iii. 17.

own undisturbed position. Succour of their persecuted brethren seemed to them a duty, and it was a duty from which they did not shrink. Justin (*loc. cit.*) tells us that the maintenance of imprisoned Christians was one of the regular objects to which the church collections were devoted, a piece of information which is corroborated and enlarged by the statement of Tertullian, that those who languished in the mines or were exiled to desert islands or lay in prison, all received monies from the church.[1] Neither statement explains whether it was only members of the particular church in question who were thus supported. This, however, is inherently improbable, and there are express statements to the contrary, including one from a pagan source. Dionysius of Corinth (Eus., *H.E.*, iv. 23. 10) writes thus to the Roman Christians about the year 170:— "From the very first you have had this practice of aiding *all* the brethren in various ways and of sending contributions to *many* churches in *every* city, thus in one case relieving the poverty of the needy, or in another providing for brethren in the mines. By these gifts, which you have sent from the very first, you Romans keep up the hereditary customs of the Romans, a practice your bishop Soter has not merely maintained but even extended." A hundred years later Dionysius, the bishop of Alexandria, in writing to Stephen the bishop of Rome, has occasion to mention the churches in Syria and Arabia. Whereupon he remarks in

[1] Tert., *Apol.*, xxxix.: "Si qui in metallis et si qui in insulis, vel in custodiis, dumtaxat ex causa dei sectae, alumni suae confessionis fiunt" (cp. p. 190).

passing, "To them you send help regularly, and you have just written them another letter" (Eus., *H.E.*, vii. 5. 2). Basil the Great informs us that under bishop Dionysius (259 – 269 A.D.) the Roman church sent money to Cappadocia to purchase the freedom of some Christian captives from the barbarians, an act of kindness which was still remembered with gratitude in Cappadocia at the close of the fourth century.[1] Thus Corinth, Syria, Arabia, and Cappadocia, all of them churches in the East, unite in testifying to the praise of the church at Rome, and we can understand from the language of Dionysius of Corinth, how Ignatius could describe that church as the προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης, "the leader of love."[2] Nor were other churches and their bishops behindhand in the matter. Similar stories are told of the church at Carthage and its bishop Cyprian. From a number of letters written shortly before his execution, it is quite clear that Cyprian sent money to provide for the Christians who then lay captive in Numidia (*ep.* lxxvi.–lxxix.), and elsewhere in his correspondence there is similar evidence of his care for stranger Christians and foreign churches. The most memorable of his letters, in this respect, is that addressed to the bishops of Numidia in 253 A.D. The latter had informed him that wild hordes of robbers had invaded the country and carried off many Christians of both

[1] Basil, *ep. ad Damasum papam* (lxx.).

[2] Ign., *ad Rom.*, procemium. Cp. Zahn, *ad loc.*, "in caritatis operibus semper primum locum sibi vindicavit ecclesia Romana" ("The Roman church always justified her primacy in works of charity").

sexes into captivity. Whereupon Cyprian instituted a collection on their behalf and forwarded the proceeds to the bishops along with the following letter (*ep.* lxii.). It is the most elaborate and important document from the first three centuries, bearing upon the support extended to one church by another, and for that reason we may find room for it at this point.

"Cyprian to Januarius, Maximus, Proculus, Victor, Modianus, Nemesianus, Nampulus, and Honoratus, the brethren: greeting.

"With sore anguish of soul and many a tear have I read the letter which in your loving solicitude you addressed to me, dear brethren, with regard to the imprisonment of our brothers and sisters. Who would not feel anguish over such misfortunes? Who would not make his brother's grief his own? For, says the apostle Paul: Should one member suffer, all the others suffer along with it; and should one member rejoice, the others rejoice with it also. And in another place he says: Who is weak, and I am not weak? We must therefore consider the present imprisonment of our brethren as our imprisonment, reckoning the grief of those in peril as our grief. We form a single body in our union, and we ought to be stirred and strengthened by religious duty as well as by love to redeem our members the brethren.

"For as the apostle Paul once more declares: Know ye not that ye are God's temple and that the holy Spirit dwelleth in you? Though love failed to stir us to succour the brethren, we must in this case consider that it is temples of God who are imprisoned, nor dare we by our procrastination and neglect of fellow-

feeling allow temples of God to remain imprisoned for any length of time, but must put forth all our energies, and with all speed manage by mutual service to deserve the grace of Christ our Lord, our Judge, our God. For since the apostle Paul says: So many of you as are baptized into Christ have put on Christ, we must see Christ in our imprisoned brethren, redeeming from the peril of imprisonment him who redeemed us from the peril of death. He who took us from the jaws of the devil, who bought us with his blood upon the cross, who now abides and dwells in us, he is now to be redeemed by us for a sum of money from the hands of the barbarians. . . . Will not the feeling of humanity and the sense of united love incline each father among you to look upon those prisoners as his sons, every husband to feel, with anguish for the marital tie, that his wife languishes in that imprisonment?" Then, after an account of the special dangers incurred by the consecrated "virgins"—"our church, having weighed and sorrowfully examined all those matters in accordance with your letter, has gathered donations for the brethren speedily, freely, and liberally; for while, according to its powers of faith, it is ever ready for any work of God, it has been raised to a special pitch of charity on this occasion by the thought of all this suffering. For since the Lord says in his gospel: I was sick and ye visited me, with what ampler reward for our alms will he now say: I was in prison and ye redeemed me? And since again he says: I was in prison and ye visited me, how much better will it be for us on the day of judgment, when we are to receive the Lord's reward, to hear him say: I was in the dungeon of imprison-

ment, in bonds and fetters among the barbarians, and ye rescued me from that prison of slavery! Finally, we thank you heartily for summoning us to share your trouble and your noble and necessary act of love, and for offering us a rich harvest-field wherein to scatter the seeds of our hope, in the expectation of reaping a very plentiful harvest from this heavenly and helpful action. We transmit to you a sum of a hundred thousand sesterces [close upon £1000] collected and contributed by our clergy and people here in the church over which by God's mercy we preside; this you will dispense in the proper quarter at your own discretion.

"In conclusion, we trust that nothing like this will occur in future, but that, guarded by the power of God, our brethren may henceforth be quit of all such perils. Still, should the like occur again, for a test of love and faith, do not hesitate to write of it to us; be sure and certain that while our own church and the whole of the church pray fervently that this may not recur, they will gladly and generously contribute even if it does take place once more. In order that you may remember in prayer our brethren and sisters who have taken so prompt and liberal a share in this needful act of love, praying that they may be ever quick to aid, and in order also that by way of return you may present them in your prayers and sacrifices, I add herewith the names of all. Further, I have subjoined the names of my colleagues (the bishops) and fellow-priests, who like myself were present and made such contributions as they could afford in their own name and in the name of their people; I have also noted and forwarded their small

sums along with our own total. It is your duty, faith and love alike require it, to remember all these in your prayers and supplications.

"Dearest brethren, we wish you unbroken prosperity in the Lord. Remember us."

Plainly the Carthaginian church is conscious here of having done something out of the common. But it is intensely conscious also of having thus discharged a *duty* of Christian love, and the religious basis of the duty is laid down in exemplary fashion. It is also obvious that so liberal a grant could not be taken from the proceeds of the ordinary church-collections.

Yet another example of Cyprian's care for a foreign church is extant. In the case (cp. above, p. 218) already mentioned of the teacher of the histrionic art who is to give up his profession and be supported by the church, if he has no other means of livelihood, Cyprian (*ep.* ii.) writes that the man may come to Carthage and find maintenance in the local church, if his own church is too poor to feed him.[1]

Lucian's satire on the death of Peregrinus, in the days of Marcus Aurelius, is a further witness to the alert and energetic temper of the interest taken in churches at the outbreak of persecution or during a period of persecution. The governor of Syria had ordered the arrest of this character, who is described by Lucian as a nefarious impostor. Lucian then

[1] "Si illic ecclesia non sufficit ut laborantibus praestat alimenta, poterit se ad nos transferre (*i.e.*, to Carthage), et hic quod sibi ad victum atque ad vestitum necessarium fuerit accipere" ("If the local church is not able to support those who labour, let it send them on to us to get the needful food and clothing").

narrates the honour paid him, during his imprisonment, by Christians, and proceeds as follows:—"In fact, people actually came from several Asiatic townships, sent by Christians in the name of their churches, to render aid, to conduct the defence, and to encourage the man. They become incredibly alert when anything of this kind occurs, that affects their common interests. On such occasions no expense is grudged. Thus they poured out on Peregrinus, at this time, sums of money which were by no means trifling, and he drew from this source a considerable income."[1] What Lucian relates in this passage cannot, therefore, have been an infrequent occurrence. Brethren arrived from afar in the name of their churches, not merely to bring donations for the support of prisoners, but also to visit them in prison, and to encourage them by evidences of love; they actually endeavoured to stand beside them in the hour of trial. The seven epistles of Ignatius form, as it were, a commentary upon these observations of the pagan writer. In them we come across the keen sympathy shown by the churches of Asia Minor as well as by the Roman church in the fortunes of a bishop upon whom they had never set eyes before; we also get a vivid sense of their care for the church at Antioch, which was now orphaned. Ignatius is being taken from Antioch to Rome, in order to fight with beasts at the capital, and mean-

[1] It may be observed at this point that there were no *general collections* in the early church, like those maintained by the Jews in the Imperial age. The organization of the churches would not tend greatly to promote any such undertakings, since Christians had no headquarters such as the Jews possessed in Palestine.

while the persecution of Christians at Antioch proceeds apace. On reaching Smyrna, he is greeted by deputies from the churches of Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles. After several days' intercourse, he entrusts them with letters to their respective churches, in which, among other things, he warmly commends to the brethren of Asia Minor his own forlorn church. "Pray for the church in Syria," he writes to the Ephesians. "Remember the church in Syria when you pray," he writes to the Trallians; "I am not worthy to belong to it, since I am the least of its members." And in the letter to the Magnesians he repeats this request, comparing the church at Antioch to a field scorched by the fiery heat of persecution, which needs some refreshing dew; the love of the brethren is to revive it.[1] At the same time we find him turning to the Romans also. There appears to have been some brother from Ephesus who was ready to convey a letter to the Roman church, but Ignatius assumes they will learn of his fortunes before the letter reaches them. What he fears is, lest they should exert their influence at court on his behalf, or rob him of his coveted martyrdom by appealing to the Emperor. The whole of the letter is written with the object of blocking the Roman church upon this line of action.[2] But all that concerns us here is the fact that a stranger bishop from abroad could assume that the

[1] *Eph.* xxi. 2; *Trall.*, xiii. 1; *Magn.*, xiv.

[2] Even here Ignatius remembers to commend the church at Antioch to the church of Rome (ix.). "Remember in your prayers the Syrian church, which has God for its shepherd now instead of me. Jesus Christ alone shall be its overseer (bishop)—he and your love together."

Roman church would interest itself in him, whether he was thinking of a legal appeal or of the Roman Christians moving in his favour along some special channels open to themselves. A few days afterwards Ignatius found himself at Troas, accompanied by the Ephesian deacon Burrhus, and provided with contributions from the church of Smyrna.[1] Thence he writes to the churches of Philadelphia and Smyrna, with both of which he had become acquainted during the course of his journey, as well as to Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna. Messengers from Antioch reached him at Troas, with news of the cessation of the persecution at the former city, and with the information that some churches in the vicinity of Antioch had already despatched bishops or presbyters and deacons to congratulate the local church (*Philad.*, x. 2). Whereupon, persuaded that the church of Antioch had been delivered from its persecution through the prayers of the churches in Asia Minor, Ignatius urges the latter also to send envoys to Antioch in order to unite with that church in thanking God for the deliverance. "Since I am informed," he writes to the Philadelphians (x. 1 f.), "that, in answer to your prayers and love in Jesus Christ, the church of Antioch is now at peace, it befits you, as a church of God, to send a deacon as your delegate with a message of God for that church, so that he may congratulate the assembled church and glorify the Name. Blessed in Jesus Christ is he who shall be counted worthy of such a mission; and ye shall yourselves be glorified. Now it is not impossible for you to do this for the name of God, if

[1] *Philad.*, xi. 2; *Smyrn.*, xii. 1.

only you have the desire." The same counsel is given to Smyrna. The church there is also to send a messenger with a pastoral letter to the church of Antioch (*Smyrn.*, xi.). The unexpected suddenness of his departure from Troas prevented Ignatius from addressing the same request to the other churches of Asia Minor. He therefore begs Polycarp not only himself to despatch a messenger with all speed (*Polyc.*, vii. 2), but to write in his name to the other churches and ask them to share the general joy of the Antiochene Christians either by messenger or by letter (*Polyc.*, viii. 1). A few weeks later the church at Philippi wrote to Polycarp that it also had made the acquaintance of Ignatius during that interval; it requested the bishop of Smyrna, therefore, to forward its letter to the church of Antioch, whenever he sent his own messenger. Polycarp undertakes to do so. In fact, he even holds out the prospect of conveying the letter himself. As desired by them, he also transmits to them such letters of Ignatius as had come to hand, and asks for reliable information upon the fate of Ignatius and his companions.[1]

Such in outline is the situation as we find it in the seven letters of Ignatius and in Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians. What a wealth of intercourse there is between the churches! What public spirit! What brotherly care for one another! Financial support retires into the background here. The foreground of the picture is filled by proofs of that personal co-operation by means of which whole churches, or again churches and their bishops, could

[1] Polyc., *ad Phil.*, xiii.

lend mutual aid to one another, consoling and strengthening each other, and sharing their sorrows and their joys. Here we step into a whole world of sympathy and love.

From other sources we also learn that after weathering a persecution the churches would send a detailed report of it to other churches. Two considerable documents of this kind are still extant. One is the letter addressed by the church of Smyrna to the church of Philomelium and to all Christian churches, after the persecution which took place under Antoninus Pius. The other is the letter of the churches in Gaul to those in Asia Minor and Phrygia, after the close of the bloody persecution under Marcus Aurelius.[1] In both letters the persecution is described in great detail, while in the former the death of bishop Polycarp is specially dwelt on, since the glorious end of a bishop who was well known in the East and West alike had to be announced to all Christendom. The events which transpired in Gaul had a special claim upon the sympathy of the Asiatic brethren, for at least a couple of the latter, Attalus of Pergamum and Alexander, a Phrygian, had suffered a glorious martyrdom in the Gallic persecution. The churches also took advantage of the opportunity to communicate to the brethren certain notable experiences of their own during the period of persecution, as well as the principles which they had verified. Thus the

[1] It is preserved, though not in an entirely complete form, by Eusebius (*H.E.*, v. 1 f.). The Smyrniote letter also occurs in an abbreviated form in Eusebius (iv. 15); the complete form, however, is also extant in a special type of text, both in Greek and Latin.

Smyrniote church speaks very decidedly against the practice of people delivering themselves up and craving for martyrdom. It gives one melancholy instance of this error (*Mart. Polyc.*, iv.). The churches of Gaul, for their part (in Eus., *H.E.*, v. 2), put in a warning against excessive harshness in the treatment of penitent apostates. They are able also to describe the tender compassion shown by their own confessors. It was otherwise with the church of Rome. She exhorted the church of Carthage to stand fast and firm during the Decian persecution,[1] and at a subsequent period conferred with it upon its principles of dealing with apostates.[2] Here a special case was under discussion. Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage, had fled during the persecution; nevertheless, he had continued to superintend his church from his retreat, since he could say with quite a good conscience that he was bound to look after his own people. The Romans, who had not been at first informed of the special circumstances of the case, evidently viewed the bishop's flight with serious misgiving, and thought themselves obliged to write for the encouragement of the church. The fact was, no greater disaster could befall a church in a period of distress than the loss of its clergy or

[1] Ep. viii. in Cyprian's correspondence (ed. Hartel).

[2] Cp. my study (in the volume dedicated to Weizsäcker, 1892), on "The letters of the Roman clergy from the age of the papal vacancy in 250 A.D." There is also an interesting remark of Dionysius of Alexandria in a letter addressed to Germanus which Eusebius has preserved (*H.E.*, VII. xi. 3). Dionysius tells how "one of the brethren who were present from Rome accompanied" him to his examination before Aemilianus the governor (during the Valerian persecution).

bishop by death or dereliction of duty. In his treatise on "Flight during a persecution," Tertullian relates how deacons, presbyters, and bishops frequently ran away at the outbreak of a persecution, on the plea of Matt. x. 23: "If they persecute you in one city, flee unto another." The result was that the church either collapsed or fell a prey to heretics.[1] The more dependent the church became upon its clergy, the more serious were the consequences to the church of any failure or even of any change in the ranks of the latter. This was well understood by the ardent persecutors of the church in the third century, by Maximin I., by Decius, by Valerian, and by Diocletian. Even a Cyprian could not retain control of his church from a place of retreat! He had to witness it undergoing shocks of disastrous force. It was for that very reason that the sister churches gave practical proof of their sympathy in crises of this kind, partly by sending letters of comfort during the trial, as the Romans did, partly by addressing congratulations to the church when the trial had been passed. In his church history Eusebius furnishes us with selections from the ample

[1] "Sed cum ipsi auctores, id est ipsi diaconi et presbyteri et episcopi fugiunt, quomodo laicus intellegere potuerit, qua ratione dictum: Fugite de civitate in civitatem? (Tales) dispersum gregem faciunt et in praedam esse omnibus bestiis agri, dum non est pastor illis. Quod nunquam magis fit, quam cum in persecutione destituitur ecclesia a clero" ("But when the very authorities themselves—deacons, I mean, and presbyters and bishops—take to flight, how can a layman see the real meaning of the saying, 'Flee from city to city'? Such shepherds scatter the flock and leave it a prey to every wild beast of the field, by depriving it of a shepherd. And this is specially the case when a church is forsaken by the clergy during persecution"), *de fuga*, xi.

correspondence of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, and one of these letters, addressed to the church of Athens, is relevant to our present purpose. Eusebius writes as follows (*H.E.*, IV. xxiii. 2 f.): "The epistle exhorts them to the faith and life of the gospel, which Dionysius accuses them of undervaluing. Indeed, he almost says they have fallen away from the faith since the martyrdom of Publius, their bishop, which had occurred during the persecution in those days. He also mentions Quadratus, who was appointed bishop after the martyrdom of Publius, and testifies that by the zeal of Quadratus they were gathered together again and had new zeal imparted to their faith." The persecution which raged in Antioch during the reign of Septimius Severus claimed as its victim the local bishop of that day, one Serapion. His death must have exposed the church to great peril, for when the episcopate was happily filled up again, the bishop of Cappadocia wrote a letter of his own from prison to congratulate the church of Antioch, in the following terms: "The Lord has lightened and smoothed my bonds in this time of captivity, by letting me hear that, through the providence of God, the bishopric of your holy church has been undertaken by Asclepiades, whose services to the faith qualify him thoroughly for such a position" (Eus., *H.E.*, VI. xi. 5).

Hitherto we have been gleaning from the scanty remains of the primitive Christian literature whatever bore upon the material support extended by one church to another, or upon the mutual assistance forthcoming in a time of persecution. But whenever persecutions brought about internal crises

and perils in a church, as was not infrequently the case, the sympathetic interest of the church extended to this sphere of need as well, and attempts were made to meet the situation. Such cases now fall to be considered, cases in which it was not poverty or persecution, but internal abuses and internal dangers, pure and simple, which drew a word of comfort or of counsel from a sister church or from its bishop.

In this connection we possess one document dating from the very earliest period, viz., the close of the first century, which deserves especial notice. It is the so-called first epistle of Clement, which is really an official letter sent by the Roman church to the Corinthian.[1] Within the pale of the latter church a crisis had arisen, whose consequences were extremely serious. All we know, of course, is what the majority of the church thought of the crisis, but according to their account certain newcomers, of an ambitious and conceited temper, had repudiated the existing authorities and led a number of the younger members of the church astray.[2] Their intention was to displace the presbyters and deacons, and in general to abolish the growing authority of the officials (xl.–xlviii.). A bitter struggle ensued, in which even the women took some part.[3] Faith, love, and brotherly feeling were already threatened with extinction (i.–iii.). The scandal became notorious throughout Christendom, and indeed there was a danger of the heathen becoming acquainted with

[1] Cp. the inscription.

[2] Cp. i. 1, iii. 3, xxxix. 1, xlvii. 6, etc.

[3] This is probable, from i. 3, xxi. 6.

the quarrel, of the name of Christ being blasphemed, and of the church's security being imperilled.[1] The Roman church stepped in. It had not been asked by the Corinthian church to interfere in the matter; on the contrary, it spoke out of its own accord.[2] And it did so with an affection and solicitude equal to its candour and dignity. It felt bound, for conscience' sake, to give a serious and brotherly admonition, conscious that God's voice spoke through its words for peace,[3] and at the same time for the strict maintenance of respect towards the authority of the officials (cp. xl. f.). Withal it never forgets that its place is merely to point out the right road to the Corinthians, not to lay commands upon them;[4] over and again it expresses most admirably its firm confidence that the church knows the will of God and will bethink itself once more of what is the proper course.[5] It even clings to the hope that the very agitators will mend their ways (cp. liv.). But in the name of God it asks that a speedy end be put to the scandal. The transmission of the epistle is entrusted to the most honoured men within its membership. "They shall be witnesses between us and you. And we have done this that you may know we have had and still have every concern for your speedy restoration to peace" (lxiii. 3). The epistle concludes by saying that the

[1] Cp. xlvii. 7, i. 1.

[2] i. 1, xlvii. 6–7.

[3] Cp. lix. 1, lvi. 1, lxiii. 2.

[4] Cp. especially lviii. 2: *δέξασθε τὴν συμβουλὴν ἡμῶν* ("accept our counsel").

[5] Cp. xl. 1, xlv. 2 f., liii. 1, lxii. 3.

Corinthians are to send back the envoys to Rome as soon as possible in joy and peace, so that the Romans may be able to hear of concord regained with as little delay as possible and to rejoice speedily on that account (lxv. 1). There is nothing in early Christian literature to compare with this elaborate and vigorous writing, which is lit up with all the brotherly affection and the public spirit of the church. But similar notices are not infrequent. The church at Philippi, for example, sent a letter across the sea to the aged Polycarp at Smyrna, informing him of a sad case which had occurred in their own midst. One of their presbyters, named Valens, had been convicted of embezzling the funds of the church. In his reply, which is still extant, Polycarp takes up this melancholy piece of news (Polyc., *ad Phil.*, xi.). He does not interfere with the jurisdiction of the church, but he exhorts and counsels the Philippians. They are to take warning from this case and avoid avarice themselves. Should the presbyter and his wife repent, the church is not to treat them as enemies, but as ailing and erring members, so that the whole body may be saved. The bishop lets it be seen that the church's treatment of the case does not appear to him to have been entirely correct. He exhorts them to moderate their passion and to be gentle. But, at the same time, in so doing he is perfectly conscious of the length to which he may venture to go in opposing an outside church. When Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, is being conveyed across Asia Minor, he takes the opportunity of writing brief letters to encourage the local churches in any perils to which they may be exposed. He warns them

against the machinations of heretics, exhorts them to obey the clergy, urges a prudent concord and firm unity, and in quite a thorough fashion gives special counsels for any emergency. At the opening of the second century a Roman Christian, the brother of the bishop, desires to lay down the *via media* of proper order and discipline at any crisis in the church, as he himself had found that *via*, between the extremes of laxity and rigour. His aim is directed not merely to the Roman church but to Christendom in general (to the "foreign cities"); he wishes all to learn the counsels which he claims to have personally received from the Holy Spirit through the church (Herm., *Vis.*, ii. 4). In the days of Marcus Aurelius it was bishop Dionysius of Corinth in particular who sought (no doubt in his church's name as well as in his own) by means of an extensive correspondence to confirm the faith of such churches, even at a great distance, as were in any peril. Two of his letters, those to the Athenians and the Romans, we have already noticed, but Eusebius gives us the contents of several similar writings, which he calls "catholic" epistles. Probably these were meant to be circulated throughout the churches, though they were collected at an early date and also (as the bishop himself is forced indignantly to relate) were interpolated. One letter to the church at Sparta contains an exposition of orthodox doctrine with an admonition to peace and unity. In the epistle to the church of Nicomedia in Bithynia he combats the heresy of Marcion. "He also wrote a letter to the church in Gortyna, together with the other churches in Crete, praising their bishop Philip for the testimony borne to the great

piety and steadfastness of his church, and warning them to guard against the aberrations of heretics. He also wrote to the church of Amastris, together with the other churches in Pontus. . . . Here he adds explanations of some passages from holy Scripture, and mentions Palmas, their bishop, by name. He gives them long advice, too, upon marriage and chastity, enjoining them also to welcome again into their number all who come back after any lapse whatsoever, be it vice or heresy. There is also in his collection of letters another addressed to the Cnosians (in Crete), in which he exhorts Pinytus, the bishop of the local church, not to lay too heavy and sore a burden on the brethren in the matter of continence, but to consider the weakness of the majority" (Eus., *H.E.*, iv. 23). Such is the variety of contents in these letters. Dionysius seems to have spoken his mind on every question which agitated the churches of his day, nor was any church too remote for him to evince his interest in its inner fortunes.

After the close of the second century a significant change came over these relationships, as the institution of synods began to be adopted. The free and unconventional communications which passed between the churches (or their bishops) yielded to an intercourse conducted upon fixed and regular lines. A new procedure had already come into vogue with the Montanist and Quartodeciman controversies, and this was afterwards developed more highly still in the great Christological controversies and in the dispute with Novatian. Doubtless we still continue to hear of cases in which individual churches or their bishops

displayed special interest in other churches at a distance, nor was there any cessation of *voluntary* sympathy with the weal and woe of any sister church. But this gave place more than ever both to an interest in the position taken up by the church at large in view of individual and particular movements, and also to the support of the provincial churches.[1] Keen interest was shown in the attitude taken up by the churches throughout the empire (or their bishops) upon any critical question. On such matters harmony could be arranged, but otherwise the provincial churches began to form groups of their own. Still, for all this, fresh methods emerged in the course of the third century by which one church supported or rallied another, and these included the custom of inviting the honoured teachers of one church to deliver addresses in another, or of securing them, when controversies had arisen, to pronounce an opinion, to instruct the parties, and to give a judgment in the matter. Instances of this are to be found, for example, in the career of the great theologian Origen.[2] Even in the fourth and fifth centuries, the material support of poor churches from foreign sources had not ceased, and Socrates, in his church history (vii. 25), notes one very brilliant example of the practice.

[1] Instances of this occur, *e.g.*, in the correspondence of Cyprian and of Dionysius of Alexandria.

[2] Cp. Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 19. 15; 33. 2; 37; 32. 2.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGION OF THE SPIRIT AND OF POWER, OF MORAL EARNESTNESS AND HOLINESS.[1]

In its missionary activities the Christian religion presented itself as something more than the gospel of redemption and of ministering love; it also formed the religion of the Spirit and of power. No doubt, it verified its character as Spirit and power by the very fact that it brought redemption and succour to mankind, freeing them from demons (see above, pp. 152 f.) and from the misery of life. But the witness of the Spirit had a wider reach than even this. "I came to you in weakness and fear and with great trembling; nor were my speech and preaching in persuasive words of wisdom but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power" (1 Cor. ii. 3, 4). Though Paul in these words is certainly thinking of his conflict with demons and of their palpable defeat, he is by no means thinking of that alone, but also of all the wonderful deeds that accompanied the labours of the apostles and the

[1] In presenting this aspect of the Christian religion one has either to be extremely brief or very copious. In the volume which has been already mentioned (on p. 152), Weinel has treated it with great thoroughness. Here I shall do no more than adduce the salient points.

founding of the church. These were not confined to his own person. From all directions they were reported in connection with other missionaries as well. Towards the close of the first century, when people came to look back upon the age in which the church had been established, the course of events was summed up in these words (Heb. ii. 3): "Salvation began by being spoken through the Lord, and was confirmed for us by those who heard it, while God accompanied their witness by signs and wonders and manifold miracles and distributions of the holy Spirit."

The variety of expressions here is in itself a proof of the number of phenomena which emerge in this connection. Let us try to single out the most important of them.

(1) God speaks to the missionaries in visions, dreams, and ecstasy, revealing to them affairs of moment and also trifles, controlling their plans, and pointing out the roads on which they are to travel, the cities where they are to stay, and the persons whom they are to visit. Visions emerge especially after a martyrdom, the dead martyr appearing to his friends during the weeks that immediately follow his death, as in the case of Potamiæna (Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 5), or of Cyprian, or of many others.

(2) At the missionary addresses of the apostles or evangelists, or at the services of the churches which they founded, sudden movements of rapture are experienced, many of them being simultaneous seizures; these are either full of terror and dismay, convulsing the whole spiritual life, or exultant outbursts of a joy that sees heaven opened to its eyes.

The simple question, "What must I do to be saved?" also bursts upon the mind with an elemental force.

(3) Some are inspired, who have power to clothe their experience in words—prophets to explain the past, to interpret and to fathom the present, and to foretell the future. Their prophecies relate to the general course of history, but also to the fortunes of individuals, to what individuals are to do or leave undone.

(4) Brethren are inspired with the impulse to improvise prayers and hymns and psalms.

(5) Others are so filled with the Spirit that they lose consciousness and break out in stammering speech and cries, in unintelligible utterances which can be interpreted, however, by those who have the gift.

(6) Into the hands of others, again, the Spirit slips a pen, either in an ecstasy or in exalted moments of spiritual tension; they not merely speak but write as they are bidden.

(7) Sick persons are brought to be healed by the missionaries, or by brethren who have been but recently awakened; wild paroxysms of terror in God's presence are also soothed, and in the name of Jesus demons are cast out.

(8) The Spirit impels men to an immense variety of extraordinary actions—to symbolic actions which are meant to reveal some mystery or to give some directions for life, as well as to deeds of heroism.

(9) Some perceive the presence of the Spirit with every sense; they see its brilliant light, they hear its voice, they smell the fragrance of immortality and

taste its sweetness. Nay more; they see celestial persons with their own eyes, see them and also hear them; they peer into what is hidden or distant or to come; they are even rapt into the world to come, into heaven itself, where they listen to "words that cannot be uttered."

(10) But although the Spirit manifests itself through marvels like these, it is no less effective in heightening the religious and the moral powers, which operate with such purity and power in certain individuals that they bear palpably the stamp of their divine origin. A heroic faith or confidence in God is visible, able to overthrow mountains, and towering far above the faith that lies in the heart of every Christian; charitable services are rendered which are far more moving and stirring than any miracle; a foresight and a solicitude are astir in the management of life, that operate as surely as the very providence of God. When these spiritual gifts, together with those of the apostles, prophets, and teachers, are awakened to exercise, they are the fundamental means of edifying the churches, proving them thereby to be "churches of God."

The amplest evidence for all these traits is to be found in the pages of early Christian literature from its earliest record down to Irenæus. The apologists allude to them as a familiar and admitted fact, and it is quite obvious that they were of primary importance for the mission and propaganda of the Christian religion. Other religions and cults could doubtless bring forward some of these actions of the Spirit, such as ecstasy, vision, demonic and anti-demonic manifestations, but nowhere do we find such a

wealth of these phenomena presented to us as in Christianity; moreover, and this is of supreme importance, the fact that their Christian range included the exploits of moral heroism, stamped them in this field with a character which was all their own and lent them a very telling power. What existed elsewhere merely in certain stereotyped and fragmentary forms, appeared within Christianity in a wealth of expression where every function of the spiritual, the mental, and the moral life seemed actually to be raised above itself.[1]

In all these phenomena there was an implicit danger, due to the great temptation which people felt either to heighten them artificially, or to imitate them fraudulently, or selfishly to turn them to their own account.[2] It was in the primitive days of Christianity,

[1] We must not ignore the fact that these proofs of "the Spirit and power" were not favourable to the propaganda in all quarters. Celsus held that they were trickery, magic, and a gross scandal, and his opinion was shared by other sensible pagans, although the latter were no surer of their facts than Celsus himself. Paul had observed long ago that, instead of recommending Christianity, speaking with tongues might on the contrary discredit it among pagans (see 1 Cor. xiv. 23: "If the whole congregation assemble and all speak with tongues, then will not uneducated or unbelieving men, who may chance to enter, say that you are mad?").

[2] Cp. what has been already said (p. 180) on exorcists being blamed, and also the description of the impostor Marcus given by Irenæus in the first book of his great work. When the impostor Peregrinus joined the Christians, he became (says Lucian) a "prophet," and as such secured for himself both glory and gain. The Didachê had already endeavoured to guard the churches against men of this kind, who used their spiritual gifts for fraudulent ends. There were even Christian minstrels; cp. the pseudo-Clementine epistle *de virginitate*, ii. 6: "Nec proicimus sanctum canibus nec margaritas ante porcos; sed dei laudes celebramus cum

during the first sixty years of its course, that their effects were most conspicuous, but they continued to exist all through the second century, although in diminished volume.[1] Irenæus confirms this view.[2]

omnimoda disciplina et cum omni prudentia et cum omni timore dei atque animi intentione. cultum sacrum non exercemus ibi, ubi inebriantur gentiles et verbis impuris in conviviis suis blasphemant in impietate sua. propterea non psallimus gentilibus neque scripturas illis praelegimus, ut ne tibicinibus aut cantoribus aut hariolis similes simus, *sicut multi*, qui ita agunt et haec faciunt, ut buccella panis saturent sese et propter modicum vini eunt et cantant cantica domini in terra aliena gentilium ac faciant quod non licet ("We do not cast what is holy to the dogs nor throw pearls before swine, but celebrate the praises of God with perfect self-restraint and discretion, in all the fear of God and with deliberate mind. We do not practise our sacred worship where the heathen are drunk and impiously blaspheme with impure speech at their banquets. Hence we do not sing to the heathen, nor do we read aloud our scriptures to them, that we may not be like flute-players, or singers, or soothsayers, *as many are* who live and act thus in order to get a mouthful of bread, going for a sorry cup of wine to sing the songs of the Lord in the strange land of the heathen and doing what is unlawful"). See also the earlier passage in i. 13: May God send workmen who are not "operarii mercenarii, qui religionem et pietatem pro mercibus habeant, qui simulent lucis filios, cum non sint lux sed tenebrae, qui operantur fraudem, qui Christum in negotio et quaestu habeant" ("workmen who are only hirelings, trading on their religion and piety, imitating the children of light although they themselves are not light but darkness, acting fraudulently, and making Christ a matter of profit and gain").

[1] They must have been generally and inevitably discredited by the fact that the various parties in Christianity during the second century each denied that the other possessed the spirit and power, explaining that when such phenomena occurred among its opponents they were the work of the devil, and unauthentic.

[2] He actually declares (see above, p. 166) that people are still raised from the dead within the Christian church (ii. 31. 2). On the spiritual gifts still operative in his day, cp. ii. 32, 4: Διὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκείνου ὀνόματι (that of Jesus) οἱ ἀληθῶς αὐτοῦ μαθηταὶ παρ'

The Montanist movement certainly gave new life to the "Spirit," which had begun to wane; but after the opening of the third century the phenomena dwindle rapidly, and instead of being the hall-mark of the church at large, or of every individual community, they become merely the equipment of a few favoured individuals. The common life of the church has now its priests, its altar, its sacraments, its holy book and rule of faith. But it no longer possesses "the Spirit and power."[1] Eusebius is not the first (in the third

αὐτοῦ λαβόντες τὴν χάριν ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐπ᾽ ἐνεργεσίᾳ τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων, καθὼς εἷς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν δωρεὰν εἴληφε παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δαίμονας ἐλαύνουσι βεβαίως καὶ ἀληθῶς, ὥστε πολλάκις καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τοὺς καθαρισθέντας ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων καὶ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οἱ δὲ καὶ πρόγνωσιν ἔχουσι τῶν μελλόντων καὶ ὀπτασίας καὶ ῥήσεις προφητικάς· ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς κάμνοντας διὰ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἰῶνται καὶ ὑγιεῖς ἀποκαθιστᾶσιν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ νεκροὶ ἠγέρθησαν καὶ παρέμειναν σὺν ἡμῖν ἱκανοῖς ἔτεσι. καὶ τί γάρ; οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸν εἰπεῖν τῶν χαρισμάτων ὧν κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἡ ἐκκλησία παρὰ θεοῦ λαβοῦσα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπ᾽ ἐνεργεσίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιτελεῖ (cp. above, p. 166). Irenæus distinctly adds that these gifts were gratuitous. Along with other opponents of heresy, he blames the Gnostics for taking money and thus trading with Christ. A prototype of this occurs as early as Acts viii. 15 f. (the case of Simon Magus), where it is strongly reprimanded (τὸ ἀργύριόν σου σὺν σοὶ εἴη εἰς ἀπώλειαν, "thy money perish with thee!").

[1] All the higher value was attached to such people as appeared to possess the Spirit. The more the phenomena of Spirit and power waned in and for the general mass of Christians, the higher rose that cultus of heroes in the faith (*i.e.*, ascetics, confessors, and workers of miracles) which had existed from the very first. These all bear unmistakable signs of the Christ within them, in consequence of which they enjoy veneration and authority. Gradually, during the second half of the third century in particular, they took the place of the dethroned deities of paganism, though as a rule this position was not gained till after death.—Though Cyprian still made great use of visions and dreams, he merely sought by their

book of his history) to look back upon the age of the Spirit and of power as the bygone heroic age of the church,[1] for Origen had already pronounced this judgment on the past from an impoverished present.[2] Yet this impoverishment and disenchantment hardly inflicted any injury now upon the mission of Christianity. During the third century that mission was prosecuted in a different way from that followed in the first and second centuries. There were no longer any regular missionaries—at least we never hear of any such. And the propaganda was no

means to enhance his episcopal authority. In several cases, however, they excited doubts and incredulity among people; cp. *ep.* lxvi. 10: scio somnia ridicula et visiones ineptas quibusdam videri ("I know that to some people dreams seem absurd and visions senseless"). It is a characteristic remark.

[1] *H.E.*, iii. 37: "A great many wonderful works of the Holy Spirit were wrought in the primitive age through the pupils of the apostles, so that whole multitudes of people, on first hearing the word, suddenly accepted with the utmost readiness faith in the Creator of the universe."

[2] In *c. Cels.*, II. viii., he only declares that he himself has seen still more miracles. The age of miracles therefore lay for Origen in earlier days. In II. xlviii. he puts a new face on the miracles of Jesus and his apostles by interpreting them not only as symbolic of certain truths, but also as intended to win over many hearts to the wonderful doctrine of the gospel. Exorcisms and cures are represented by him as still continuing to occur (frequently; cp. I. vi.). From I. ii. we see how he estimated the present and the past of Christianity. "For our faith there is one especial proof, unique and superior to any advanced by aid of Grecian dialectic. This diviner proof is characterised by the apostle as 'the demonstration of the Spirit and of power'—'the demonstration of the Spirit' on account of the prophecies which are capable of producing faith in hearer and reader, 'the demonstration of power' on account of the extraordinary wonders, whose reality can be proved by this circumstance, among many other things, that *traces of them still exist among those who live according to the will of the Logos.*"

longer an explosive force, but a sort of steady fermenting process. Quietly but surely Christianity was expanding from the centres it had already occupied, diffusing itself with no violent shocks or concussions in its spread.

If the early Christians always looked out for the proofs of the Spirit and of power, they did so from the standpoint of their *moral* and *religious* energy, since it was for the sake of the latter object that these gifts had been bestowed upon the church. Paul describes this object as the edification of the entire church,[1] while, as regards the individual, it is the new creation of man from death to life, from a worthless thing into a thing of value. This edification means a growth in all that is good (cp. Gal. v. 22: *the fruit of the Spirit* is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, self-control), and the evidence of *power* is that God has not called many wise after the flesh, nor many noble, but poor and weak men, whom he has transformed into morally robust and intelligent natures. Moral regeneration and the moral life were not merely *one* side of Christianity to Paul, but its very *fruit* and goal on earth. The entire labour of the Christian mission might be described as a *moral* enterprise, as

[1] Cp. pseudo-Clem., *de virgin.*, I. xi.: "Illo igitur charismate, quod a domino accepisti, illo inservi fratribus pneumaticis, prophetis, qui dignoscant dei esse verba ea, quae loqueris, et enarra quod accepisti charisma in ecclesiastico conventu ad aedificationem fratrum tuorum in Christo" ("Therefore with that spiritual gift which thou hast received from the Lord, serve the spiritual brethren, even the prophets, who know that the words thou speakest are of God, and declare the gift thou hast received in the church-assembly to the edification of thy brethren in Christ").

the awakening and strengthening of the moral sense; nor would such a description prove inadequate to its full contents.

Paul's opinion was shared by Christians of the sub-apostolic age, by the apologists and great Christian fathers like Tertullian[1] and Origen. Read the Didachê and the first chapter of *Clemens Romanus*, the conclusion of Barnabas, the homily entitled "Second Clement," the "Shepherd" of Hermas, or the last chapter of the *Apology* of Aristides, and everywhere you find the ethical demands occupying the front rank. They are thrust forward almost with wearisome diffuseness and with

[1] The highly characteristic passage in *Apol.* xlv. may be quoted in this connection: "Nos soli innocentes, quid mirum, si necesse est? enium vero necesse est. Innocentiam a deo edocti et perfecte eam novimus, ut a perfecto magistro revelatam, et fideliter custodiamus, ut ab incontemptibili dispectore mandatam. Vobis autem humana aestimatio innocentiam tradidit, humana item dominatio imperavit, inde nec plenae nec adeo timendae estis disciplinae ad innocentiae veritatem. Tanta est prudentia hominis ad demonstrandum bonum quanta auctoritas ad exigendum; tam illa falli facilis quam ista contemni. Atque adeo quid plenius, dicere: Non occides, an docere: ne irascaris quidem?" etc. ("We, then, are the only innocent people. Is that at all surprising, if it is inevitable? and inevitable it is indeed. Taught of God what innocence is, we have a perfect knowledge of it as revealed by a perfect teacher, and we also guard it faithfully as commanded by a judge who is not to be despised. But as for you, innocence has merely been introduced among you by human opinions, and it is enjoined by nothing better than human rules; hence your moral discipline lacks the fulness and authority requisite for the production of true innocence. Human skill in pointing out what is good is no greater than human authority in enforcing obedience to what is good; the one is as easily deceived as the other is disobeyed. And so, which is the ampler rule — to say, 'Thou shalt not kill,' or 'Thou shalt not so much as be angry'?").

a rigorous severity. Beyond all question, these Christian communities seek to regulate their common life by principles of the strictest morality, tolerating no unholy members in their midst,[1] and well aware that with the admission of immorality their very existence at once ceases. The fearful punishment to which Paul sentences the incestuous person (1 Cor. v.) is not an exceptional case. Gross sinners were always ejected from the church. Even those who consider all religions, including Christianity, to be merely idiosyncrasies, and view progress as entirely identical with the moral progress of mankind—even such observers must admit that in these days progress did depend upon the Christian churches, and that history then had recourse to a prodigious and paradoxical system of levers in order to gain a higher level of human evolution. Amid the convulsions of the soul and body produced by the preaching of a judgment which was imminent, and amid the raptures stirred by the Spirit of Christ, morality advanced to a position of greater purity and security. Above all, the conflict undertaken by Christianity was one against sins of the flesh, such as fornication, adultery, and unnatural vices. In the Christian communities monogamy was absolutely held to be the one permissible union of the sexes. Closely bound up with the struggle against these sins was the strict prohibition of abortion and the exposure of infants. Chris-

[1] *Martyr Apol.*, xxvi.: "There is a distinction between death and death. For this reason the disciples of Christ die daily, torturing their desires and mortifying them according to the divine scriptures; for we have no part at all in shameless desires, or scenes impure, or glances lewd, or ears attentive to evil, lest our souls thereby be wounded."

tians further opposed covetousness, greed, and dishonesty in business life, with mammon-worship in every shape and form, and the pitiless temper which is its result. Thirdly, they combated double-dealing and falsehood. It was along these three lines, in the main, that Christian preaching exerted itself in the sphere of morals. Christians were to be pure men, who do not cling to their possessions and are not self-seeking; moreover, they were to be truthful and brave.

The apologists shared the opinion of the sub-apostolic fathers. At the close of his *Apology*, addressed to the public of paganism, Aristides exhibits the Christian life in its purity, earnestness, and love, and is convinced that in so doing he is expressing all that is most weighty and impressive in it. Justin follows suit. Lengthy sections of his great *Apology* are devoted to the statement of the moral principles in Christianity, and to the proof that these are observed by Christians. Besides, all the apologists rely on the fact that even their opponents hold goodness to be good and wickedness to be evil. They believe it is needless to waste their time in proving that goodness is really goodness, since they can be sure of assent to this proposition. What they seek to prove is that goodness among Christians is not an impotent claim or a pale ideal, but a power developed on all sides, and actually exercised in life.[1] It was of special importance to

[1] Celsus distinctly admits that the ethical ideas of Christianity agree with those of the philosophers (I. iv.); cp. Tert., *Apol.* xlvi.: eadem, inquit, et philosophi monent atque profitentur ("These very things, we are told, the philosophers also counsel and profess").

them to be able to show (cp. the argument of the apostle Paul) that what was weak and poor and ignoble rose thereby to strength and worth. "They say of us, that we gabble nonsense among females, half-grown people, girls, and old women.[1] Not so. Our maidens 'philosophize,' and at their distaffs speak of things divine" (Tatian, *Orat.* xxxiii.). "The poor, no less than the well-to-do, philosophize with us" (*ibid.*, xxxii.). "Christ has not, as Socrates had, merely philosophers and scholars as his disciples, but also artizans and people of no education, who despise glory, fear, and death."[2] "Among us are uneducated

Here too, we must, however, recognize a *complexio oppositorum*, and that in a twofold sense. On the one hand, morality, viewed in its essence, is self-evident; a general agreement prevails on this (purity in all the relationships of life, perfect love to one's neighbours, etc.). On the other hand, under certain circumstances it is still maintained that Christian ethics are qualitatively distinct from all other ethics, and that they cannot be understood or practised apart from the Spirit of God. This estimate answers to the double description given of Christian morality, which on one side is correct behaviour in every relationship on earth, while on the other side it is a divine life and behaviour, which is supernatural and based on complete asceticism and mortification. This extension of the definition of morality, which is most conspicuous in Tatian, was not, however, the original creation of Christianity; it was derived from the ethics of the philosophers, and Christianity merely took it over and modified it. This is easily understood, if we read Philo, Clement, and Origen.

[1] Celsus, III. xliv.: "Christians must admit that they can only persuade people destitute of sense, position, or intelligence, only slaves, women, and children, to accept their faith."

[2] Justin, *Apol.*, II. x. He adds, δύναμίς ἐστιν τοῦ ἀρρήτου πατρὸς καὶ οὐχὶ ἀνθρωπείου λόγου κατασκευή ("He is a power of the ineffable Father, and no mere instrument of human reason"). So Diognet. vii.: ταῦτα ἀνθρώπου οὐ δοκεῖ τὰ ἔργα, ταῦτα δύναμίς ἐστι θεοῦ ("These do not look like human works, they are the power of God").

folk, artizans, and old women, who are utterly unable to describe the value of our doctrines in words, but who attest them by their deeds."[1] Similar retorts are addressed by Origen to Celsus (in his second book), and by Lactantius (*Instit.*, VI. iv.) to his opponents.

A whole series of proofs lies before us, indicating that the high level of morality enjoined by Christianity and the moral conduct of the Christian societies were intended to promote, and actually did promote, the direct interests of the Christian mission.[2] The apolo-

[1] Athenag., *Suppl.* xi.; cp. also Justin, *Apol.*, I. lx.: παρ' ἡμῖν οὖν ἐστι ταῦτα ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας τῶν στοιχείων ἐπισταμένων, ἰδιωτῶν μὲν καὶ βαρβάρων τὸ φθέγμα, σοφῶν δὲ καὶ πιστῶν τὸν νοῦν ὄντων, καὶ πηρῶν καὶ χήρων τινῶν τὰς ὄψεις· ὡς συνεῖναι οὐ σοφίᾳ ἀνθρωπείᾳ ταῦτα γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει θεοῦ λεγέσθαι ("Among us you can hear and learn these things from people who do not even know the forms of letters, who are uneducated and barbarous in speech, but wise and believing in mind, though some of them are even maimed and blind. From this you may understand these things are due to no human wisdom, but are uttered by the power of God"). Tertull., *Apol.* xlvi.: deum quilibet opifex Christianus et invenit, et ostendit, et exinde totum quod in deum quaeritur re quoque adsignat, licet Plato adfirmet factitatorem universitatis neque inveniri facilem et inventum enarrari in omnes difficilem ("There is not a Christian workman who does not find God, and manifest him, and proceed to ascribe to him all the attributes of deity, although Plato declares the maker of the universe is hard to find, and hard, when found, to be expounded to all and sundry").

[2] Ignat., *ad Ephes.* x.: ἐπετρέψατε αὐτοῖς (*i.e.*, the heathen) κἂν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ὑμῖν μαθητευθῆναι· πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς πραεῖς, πρὸς τὰς μεγαλορρημοσύνας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ταπεινόφρονες, πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς τὰς προσευχάς . . . . μὴ σπουδάζοντες ἀντιμιμήσασθαι αὐτούς· ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν εὑρεθῶμεν τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ· μιμηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου σπουδάζωμεν εἶναι ("Allow them to learn a lesson at least from your works. Be meek when they break out in anger, be humble against their vaunting words, set your prayers against their blasphemies . . . ;

gists not infrequently lay great stress on this.[1] Tatian mentions "the excellence of its moral doctrines" as one of the reasons for his conversion (*Orat.* xxix.), while Justin declares that the steadfastness of Christians convinced him of their purity, and that these impressions proved decisive in bringing him over to the faith (*Apol.*, II. xii.). We frequently read in the Acts of the martyrs (and, what is more, in the genuine sections) that the steadfastness and loyalty of Christians made an overwhelming impression on those who witnessed their trial or execution; so much so, that some of these spectators suddenly decided to become Christians themselves.[2] And in

be not zealous to imitate them in requital. Let us show ourselves their brethren by our forbearance, and let us be zealous to be imitators of the Lord").

[1] Cp. also 2 Clem., lxiii.: *τὰ ἔθνη ἀκούοντα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἡμῶν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα θαυμάζει· ἔπειτα καταμαθόντα τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄξια τῶν ῥημάτων ὧν λέγομεν, ἔνθεν εἰς βλασφημίαν τρέπονται, λέγοντες εἶναι μῦθόν τινα καὶ πλάνην* ("When the Gentiles hear from our mouth the words of God, they wonder at their beauty and greatness; then, discovering our deeds are not worthy of the words we utter, they betake themselves to blasphemy, declaring it is all a myth and error"). Such instances therefore did occur. Indirectly they are a proof of what is argued above.

[2] Even the second oldest martyrdom of which we know, that of James, the son of Zebedee, as related by Clement of Alexandria in his Hypotyposes (cp. Eus., *H.E.*, ii. 9), tells how the accuser himself was converted and beheaded along with the apostle.—All Christians recognized that the zenith of Christian morality was reached when the faith was openly confessed before the authorities, but the sectarian Heracleon brought forward another view, which was of course taken seriously amiss of him. His contention was that such confession in words might be hypocritical as well as genuine, and that the only conclusive evidence was that afforded by the steady profession, which consists in words and actions answering to the faith itself (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, IV. ix. 71 f.).

Cyprian's treatise "to Donatus" we get the most vivid account of how he was convinced and won over to Christianity, not so much by its moral principles, as by the moral power which it exhibited. Formerly he considered it impossible to put off the old man and put on the new. But "after I had breathed the heavenly spirit in myself, and the second birth had restored me to a new manhood, then doubtful things suddenly and strangely acquired certainty for me. What was hidden disclosed itself; darkness became enlightened; what was formerly hard seemed feasible, and what had appeared impossible seemed capable of being done."

Tertullian and Origen speak in similar terms.

But it is not merely the Christians themselves who bear witness that they have been set in a new world of moral power, of earnestness, and of holiness; for even their opponents bear testimony to their purity of life. The abominable charges circulated by the Jews against the moral life of Christians did hold their own for a long while, and were credited by the common people as well as by many of the educated classes.[1]

[1] Probably, *e.g.*, by Fronto, the teacher of M. Aurelius (cp. the Octavius of Minutius Felix), and also by Apuleius, if the woman described in *Metam.* ix. 14 (omnia prorsus ut in quandam caenosam latrinam in eius animam flagitia confluxerant — "every vice had poured into her soul, as into some foul cesspool") was a Christian (spretis atque calcatis divinis numinibus invicem certae religionis mentita sacrilega presumptione dei, quem praedicaret unicum— "scorning and spurning the holy deities in place of the true religion, she affected to entertain a sacrilegious conception of God—the only God, as she proclaimed"). The orator Aristides observed in the conduct of Christians a mixture of humility and arrogance, in which he finds a resemblance between them and the Jews (*Orat.*, xlvi.). This is his most serious charge, and Celsus raises a similar objection (see Book III., Chapter V.).

But anyone who examined the evidence, found something very different. Pliny told Trajan that he had been unable to prove anything criminal or vicious on the part of Christians during all his examination of them, and that, on the contrary, the purpose of their gatherings was to confirm themselves in conscientious and virtuous living.[1] Lucian makes the Christians appear credulous fanatics, but also people of a pure life, of devoted love, and of a courage equal to death itself. The last named feature is also admitted by Epictetus and Aurelius.[2] Most important of all, however, is the testimony of the acute physician Galen, who writes (in his treatise[3] "de sententiis politiae Platonicae") as follows: — "Hominum plerique orationem demonstrativam continuam morte assequi nequeunt, quare indigent, ut instituantur parabolis. veluti nostro tempore videmus homines illos, qui Christiani vocantur, fidem suam e para-

[1] "Adfirmabant autem [*i.e.*, the Christians under examination] hanc fuisse summam vel culpae suae vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent" ("They maintained that the head and front of their offending or error had been this, that they were accustomed on a stated day to assemble ere daylight and sing in turn a hymn to Christ as a god, and also that they bound themselves by an oath, not for any criminal end, but to avoid theft or robbery or adultery, never to break their word, or to repudiate a deposit when called upon to refund it").

[2] Both of course qualify their admission. Epictetus (Arrian, *Epict. diss.*, iv. 7. 6) declares that the Galileans' ἀφοβία before tyrants was due to habit, while Aurelius attributes the readiness of Christians to die, to ostentation (*Med.*, xi. 3).

[3] Extant in Arabic in the *Hist. anteislam. Abulfedae* (ed. Fleischer, p. 109).

bolis petiisse. Hi tamen interdum talia faciunt, qualia qui vere philosophantur. Nam quod mortem contemnunt, id quidem omnes ante oculos habemus; item quod verecundia quadam ducti ab usu rerum venerearum abhorrent. sunt enim inter eos et feminae et viri, qui per totam vitam a concubitu abstinuerint;[1] sunt etiam qui in animis regendis coercendisque et in acerrimo honestatis studio eo progressi sint, ut nihil cedant vere philosophantibus."[2] One can hardly imagine a more impartial

[1] From the time of Justin (and probably even earlier) Christians were always pointing, by way of contrast to the heathen, to the group of their brethren and sisters who totally abjured marriage. Obviously they counted on the fact that such conduct would evoke applause and astonishment even among their opponents (even castration was known, as in the case of Origen and of another person mentioned by Justin). Nor was this calculation quite mistaken, for the religious philosophy of the age was ascetic. Still the applause was not unanimous, even among strict moralists. The pagan in Macarius Magnes, III. xxxvi. (*i.e.*, Porphyry) urged strongly against Paul that in 1 Tim. iv. 1 he censures those who forbid marriage, while in 1 Cor. vii. he recommends celibacy, even although he has to admit he has no word of the Lord upon virgins. "Then is it not wrong to live as a celibate, and also to refrain from marriage at the order of a mere man, seeing that there is no command of Jesus extant upon celibacy? And how can some women who live as virgins boast so loudly of the fact, *declaring they are filled with the Holy Ghost,* like her who bore Jesus?"

[2] "As a rule men are unable to follow consecutively any argumentative speech, so that they need to be educated by means of parables. Just as in our own day we see the people who are called Christians, seeking their faith from parables. Still they occasionally act just as true philosophers do. For their contempt of death is patent to us all, as is their abstinence from the use of sexual organs, by a certain impulse of modesty. For they include women and men who refrain from cohabiting all through their lives, and they also number individuals who in ruling and controlling themselves, and in their keen pursuit of virtue, have

and brilliant testimony to the morality of Christians. Celsus, too, a very jealous critic of the Christians, finds no fault with their moral conduct. Everything about them, according to him, is dull, mean, and deplorable, but he never denies them such morality as is possible under these circumstances.

As the proof of "the Spirit and of power" subsided after the beginning of the third century, the extraordinary moral tension also became relaxed, paving the way gradually for a morality which was adapted to a worldly life. The sources of this lie as far back as the second century in connection with the question, whether any, and if so what, post-baptismal sins could be forgiven. But the various stages of the process cannot be exhibited in these pages. It must suffice to remark that from about 230 A.D. onwards, many churches followed the lead of the Roman church in forgiving gross bodily sins, whilst after 251 A.D. most churches also forgave sins of idolatry. Thus the circle was complete; only in one or two cases were crimes of exceptional atrocity denied forgiveness, implying that the offender was not re-admitted to the church. It is quite obvious from the later

attained a pitch not inferior to that of real philosophers." Galen, of course, condemns the faith of Christians as a mere obstinate adherence to what is quite unproven; περὶ διαφορᾶς σφυγμῶν, II. iv. (ἵνα μή τις εὐθὺς κατ᾽ ἀρχάς, ὡς εἰς Μωυσοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διατριβὴν ἀφιγμένος, νόμων ἀναποδείκτων ἀκούῃ—"That no one may hastily give credence to unproven laws, as if he had reached the way of life enjoined by Moses and Christ"), and III. iii. (θᾶττον ἄν τις τοὺς ἀπὸ Μωυσοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ μεταδιδάξειεν ἢ τοὺς ταῖς αἱρεσι προστετηκότας ἰατρούς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους—"One could more easily teach novelties to the adherents of Moses and Christ than to doctors and philosophers who are stuck fast in the schools").

writings of Tertullian, and from many a stinging remark in Origen's commentaries, that even by 220 A.D. the Christian churches, together with their bishops and clergy, were no longer what they had previously been, from a moral point of view; nevertheless (as Origen expressly emphasizes against Celsus; cp. III. xxix.–xxx.) their morals still continued to excel the morals of other guilds within the empire and of the population in the various cities, whilst the penitential ordinances between 251 and 325, of which we possess no small number, point to a very earnest endeavour being made to keep up the morality and holiness of life. Despite their moral deterioration, the Christian churches must have still continued to wield a powerful influence and fascination for people of a moral disposition.

But here again we are confronted with the *complexio oppositorum.* For the churches must have also produced a powerful effect upon people in every degree of moral weakness, just on account of that new internal development which had culminated about the middle of the third century. If the churches hitherto had been societies which admitted people under the burden of sin, not denying entrance even to the worst offender, but securing him forgiveness with God *and thereafter requiring him to continue pure and holy, now they had established themselves voluntarily or involuntarily as societies based upon unlimited forgiveness.* Along with baptism, and subsequent to it, they had now developed a second sacrament; it was still without form, but they relied upon it as a thing which had form, and considered

themselves justified in applying it in almost every case—it was *the sacrament of penitence.* Whether this development enabled them to meet the aims of their Founder better than their more rigorous predecessors, or whether it removed them further from these aims, is not a question upon which we need to enter. The point is, that now for the first time the attractive power of Christianity as a religion of pardon came fully into play. No doubt, everything depended on the way in which pardon was applied, but it was not merely a frivolous scoff on the part of Julian the apostate when he pointed out that the way in which the Christian churches preached and administered forgiveness was injurious to the best interests of morality, and that there were members in the Christian churches whom no other religious societies would tolerate within their bounds. The feature which Julian censured had arisen upon a wide scale as far back as the second half of the third century. When clerics of the same church started to quarrel with each other, as in the age of Cyprian at Carthage, they at once flung at each other most heinous charges of fraud, of adultery, and even of murder. One asks, in amazement and indignation, why the offending presbyter or deacon had not been long ago expelled from the church, if such accusations were correct? To this question no answer is forthcoming. Besides, even if these repeated and almost stereotyped charges were not in every case well-founded, the not less serious fact remains that one brother wantonly taxed another with the most heinous crimes. It reveals a laxity that would not have been possible, had not the fatal influence been already felt of a religion which

was the reverse of the religion of the merciful heart and of forgiveness.

Still, this forgiveness is not condemned by the mere fact that it was extended to worthless characters. Nor are we called upon to be its judges. We must be content to ascertain, as we have now ascertained, that while the character of the Christian religion, as a religion of morality, suffered some injury in the course of the third century, this certainly did not impair its power of attraction. It was now sought after as the religion which formed a permanent channel of forgiveness to mankind. Which was partly due, no doubt, to the fact that entirely new groups of people applied to it now for aid.

Finally, if this sketch of characteristic principles in Christianity is not to be left with an unfinished look, two things must still be taken into account. One is this: the church never sanctioned the thesis adopted by most of the gnostics, that there was a qualitative distinction of human beings according to their moral capacities, and that in consequence of this there must also be different grades in their ethical conduct and in the morality which might be expected from them. But there was a primitive distinction between a morality for the perfect and a morality which was none the less adequate, and this distinction was steadily maintained. Even in Paul there are evident traces of this view alongside of a strictly uniform conception. The Catholic doctrine of "praecepta" and "consilia" prevailed almost from the first within the Gentile church, and the words of the Didachê, which follow the description of "the two ways" (c. vi.: "If thou canst bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be

perfect: but if thou canst not, do what thou canst"), only express a conviction which was very widely felt. The distinction between the "children" and the "mature" (or perfect), which originally obtained within the sphere of Christian knowledge, overflowed into the sphere of conduct, since both spheres were closely allied. Christianity had always her heroic souls in asceticism and poverty and so forth, people who were held in exceptional esteem (see above), and who had to be warned, even in the sub-apostolic age, against pride and boasting (cp. Ignat., *ad Polyc.* v.: *εἴ τις δύναται ἐν ἁγνείᾳ μένειν εἰς τιμὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ κυρίου, ἐν ἀκαυχησίᾳ μενέτω· ἐάν καυχήσηται, ἀπώλετο*—"if anyone is able to remain in purity to the honour of the flesh of the Lord, let him remain as he is without boasting of it. If he boast, he is a lost man"; also Clem. Rom., xxxviii.: *ὁ ἁγνὸς ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἤτω καὶ μὴ ἀλαζονευέσθω*—"Let him that is pure in the flesh remain so and not boast about it"); and in these ascetics of early Christianity the first step was taken towards monasticism.

Secondly, veracity in matters of fact suffers as readily as righteousness in every religion. This is writ clear upon the pages of church history from the earliest period right onward. In the majority of cases, in the case of miracles that have never happened, of visions that were never seen, of voices that were never heard, and of books that were never written by their alleged authors, we are not in a position at this time of day to decide where self-deception ended and where fraud began, where enthusiasm became a thing of method, and method conventional deception, any more than we are capable of determining as a rule where a harsh exclusiveness passes into injustice and

fanaticism. We must content ourselves with determining that cases of this kind were unfortunately not infrequent, and that their number increased. What we call priestcraft and miracle-frauds was not absent from the third or even from the second century.

CHAPTER V.

THE RELIGION OF AUTHORITY AND OF REASON, OF THE MYSTERIES AND OF TRANSCENDENTALISM.

I.

"SOME Christians [evidently not all] will not so much as give or accept any account of what they believe. They adhere to the watchwords, 'Prove not, only believe,' and 'Thy faith shall save thee.' Wisdom is an evil thing in the world, folly a good thing." So Celsus wrote about the Christians (I. ix.). He goes on, in the course of his polemical treatise, to bring forward this charge repeatedly in various forms; as in I. xii., "They say, in their usual fashion, 'Enquire not'"; I. xxvi. f., "That ruinous saying of Jesus has deceived men. With his illiterate character and lack of eloquence he has gained of course almost no one but illiterate people";[1] III. xliv., "The following rules are laid down by Christians, even by the more intelligent among them. 'Let none draw near to us who is educated, or shrewd, or wise. Such qualifications are in our eyes an evil. But let the ignorant, the idiots, and the fools, come to us with confidence'";

[1] Still Celsus adds that there are also one or two discreet, pious, intelligent people among the Christians, and some who are expert in spiritual interpretation.

vi. x. f., "Christians say, 'Believe first of all that he whom I announce to thee is the Son of God.'" "All are ready to cry out, 'Believe if thou wilt be saved, or else begone.' What is wisdom among men they describe as foolishness with God, and their reason for this is their desire to win over none but the uneducated and simple by means of this saying." Justin also represents Christians being charged by their opponents with making blind assertions and giving no proof (*Apol.*, I. lii.), while Lucian declares (*Peregr.*, xiii.) that they "received such matters on faith without the slightest enquiry" (ἄνευ τινὸς ἀκριβοῦς πίστεως τὰ τοιαῦτα παρεδέξαντο).

A description and a charge of this kind were not entirely unjustified. Within certain limits Christians have continued to hold this view from the very first, that the human understanding has to be captured and humbled to obey the message of the gospel. Some Christians even go a step further. Bluntly, they require a blind faith for the word of God. When the apostle Paul views his preaching, not so much in its content as in its origin, as *the word of God*, and even when he notes the contrast between it and the wisdom of this world, his demand is for a firm, resolute faith, and for nothing else. "We bring every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ" (2 Cor. x. 5), and—the word of the cross tolerates no σοφία λόγου (no wisdom of speech), it is to be preached as foolishness and apprehended by faith (1 Cor. i. 17 f.). Hence he also issues a warning against the seductions of philosophy (Col. ii. 8). Tertullian advanced beyond this position much more decisively. He prohibited Christians (*de praescr.*,

viii. f.) from ever applying to doctrine the saying, "Seek, and ye shall find." "What," he exclaims (*op. cit.*, vii.), "what has Athens to do with Jerusalem, or the Academy with the church? What have heretics to do with Christians? Our doctrine originates with the porch of Solomon, who had himself taught that men must seek the Lord in simplicity of heart. Away with all who attempt to introduce a mottled Christianity of Stoicism and Platonism and dialectic! Now that Jesus Christ has come, no longer need we curiously inquire, or even investigate, since the gospel is preached. When we believe, we have no desire to sally beyond our faith. For our belief is the primary and palmary fact. There is nothing further that we have still to believe beyond our own belief. . . . To be ignorant of everything outside the rule of faith, is to possess all knowledge."

Many missionaries may have preached in this way, not merely after but even previous to the stern conflict with gnosticism. Faith is a matter of resolve, a resolve of the will and a resolve to obey. It is not to be troubled by any considerations of human reason!

Preaching of this kind is only possible if at the same time some powerful authority is set up. And such an authority was set up. First and foremost (cp. Paul), it was the authority of the revealed will of God as that is disclosed in the mission of the Son to earth. Here external and internal authority blended and coincided, for as the divine will is certainly an authority in itself (according to Paul's view), and is also capable of making itself felt as

such, without men understanding its purpose and right (Rom. ix. f.), the apostle is thoroughly convinced, with equal certainty, that God's gracious will makes itself intelligible *to the inner man.*

Still, even in Paul, the external and internal authority vested in the cross of Christ is accompanied also by other authorities which claim the obedience of faith. These are the written word of the sacred documents and the sayings of Jesus. In their case also neither doubt nor contradiction is permissible.

For all that, the great apostle endeavoured to reason out everything, and in the last resort it is never a question with him of any "sacrifice of the intellect" (see below). Some passages may seem to contradict this statement, but only in appearance. In so far as Paul demands the obedience of faith and sets up the authority of "the word" or of "the cross," he simply means that obedience of faith which is inseparable from any religion whatsoever, no matter how freely and spiritually it may be set forth. But, as Celsus and Tertullian serve to remind us (if any reminder at all is necessary on this point), many missionaries and teachers went about their work in quite a different manner. They simply erected their authority wherever they went, the authority of the letter of Scripture in an ever increasing degree,[1] and presently that of the rule of faith, together with that of the church (the church as "the pillar and ground of the truth," στῦλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας, as early as 1 Tim. iii. 15). True,

[1] For details on the significance of the Bible in the mission, see Chapter VII.

they endeavoured to buttress the authority of these two magnitudes, the Bible and the church, by means of rational arguments (the authority of the Bible being supported by the proof from the fulfilment of prophecy, and that of the church by the proof from the unbroken tradition which reached back to Christ himself and lent the doctrine of the church the value of Christ's own words). In so doing they certainly did not at bottom demand a blind belief. But, first of all, it was assuredly not every missionary or teacher who was competent to lead such proofs. They were led by the educated apologists and controversialists. And in the second place, no *inner* authority belonging to the magnitudes in question can ever be secured by means of external proofs. The latter really remained a sort of alien element. At bottom the faith required was blind faith.

But it would be a grave error to suppose that for the majority of people the curt demand that authorities must be simply believed and reason repudiated, acted as a serious obstacle to their acceptance of the Christian religion.[1] In reality, it was the very opposite. The more peremptory and exclusive is the claim of faith which any religion makes, the more

[1] Naturally it did repel, indeed, highly cultured men like Celsus and Porphyry. For Celsus see above, p. 274. Porphyry, the pagan in Macarius Magnes (IV. ix.) writes thus on Matt. xi. 25:—"As the mysteries are hidden from the wise and thrown down before minors and senseless sucklings, then of course even what is written for minors and senseless people had to be clear and free from obscurity. Thus it is better to aim at a lack of reason and of education. And this is the very acme of Christ's sojourn upon earth, to conceal the ray of knowledge from the wise and to unveil it to the senseless and to small children!"

trustworthy and secure does that religion seem to the majority ; the more it relieves them of the duty and responsibility of reflecting upon its truth, the more welcome it is. Any firmly established authority thus acts as a sedative. And more ; the most welcome articles of faith are just the most paradoxical, those which are a mockery of all experience and rational reflection ; the reason for this being that they appear to guarantee the presentment of divine wisdom and not of something which is merely human and therefore unreliable. "Miracle is the favourite child of faith." That is true of more than miracles ; it applies also to the miraculous doctrines which cannot be appropriated by a man unless blindly he believes and obeys.

But so long as the authorities consisted of books and doctrines, the coveted haven of rest was still unreached. The meaning of these doctrines always continues to be liable to some doubt. Their scope, too, is never quite fixed. And, above all, their application to present-day questions is often a serious difficulty, which leads to painful and disturbing controversies. "Blind faith" never gains its final haven until its authority is *living*, until questions can be put to it, and answers promptly received from it. During the first generations of Christendom no such authority existed ; but in the course of the second century and down to the middle of the third, it was gradually taking shape—I mean, *the authority of the church as represented in the episcopate.* It did not dislodge the other authorities of God's saving purpose and the holy Scripture, but by stepping to their side it pushed them into the background. *The auctoritas interpretiva is invariably the supreme and the true*

authority. After the middle of the third century the church and the episcopate had developed so far that they exercised the functions of sacred authorities. And it was after that period that the church extended by leaps and bounds, becoming now a church of the masses. For while the system of a living authority in the church had still defects and gaps of its own—since in certain circumstances it either exercised its functions very gradually or could not be enforced at all—these defects did not exist for the masses. In the bishop or priest, or even in the ecclesiastical fabric and the cultus, the masses had a direct sense of something holy and authoritative to which they yielded submission, and this state of matters had prevailed for a couple of generations by the time that Constantine granted recognition and privileges to Christianity. *This* was the church on which he conferred privileges, this church with its enormous authority over the masses! *These* were the Christians whom he defined as the support of the throne, people who clung to the bishops with submissive faith and who would not resist their divinely appointed authority! The Christianity that triumphed was the Christianity of blind faith, which Celsus has depicted. When would a State ever have shown any practical interest in any other kind of religion?

II.

Christianity is a *complexio oppositorum.* The very Paul who would have reason brought into captivity, proclaimed that Christianity, in opposition to polytheism, was a "reasonable service of God" (Rom. xii. 1, λογικὴ λατρεία), and declared that what pagans thought

folly in the cross of Christ seemed so to those alone who were blind to it, whereas what Christians preached was in reality the profoundest wisdom. He went on to declare that this was not merely reserved for us as a wisdom to be attained in the far future, but capable of being understood even at present by believers as such, promising that he would introduce the "perfect" among them to its mysteries.[1] This promise (cp., *e.g.*, 1 Cor. ii. 6 f., *σοφίαν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις*) he made good; yet he never withheld this wisdom from those who were children or weak in spiritual things. He could not, indeed he dared not, utter all he understood of God's word and the cross of Christ—*λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην* ("We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom")—but he moved freely in the realm of history and speculation, drawing abundantly from "the depths of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God." In Paul one feels the joy of the thinker who enters into the thoughts of God, and is convinced that in and with and through his faith he has passed from darkness into light, from confusion, cloudiness, and oppression, into lucidity and liberty.

"We have been rescued from darkness and lifted into the light"—such was the chant of a chorus of

[1] For the "perfect" see p. 272. They constitute a special class for Paul. The distinction came to be sharply drawn at a later period, especially in the Alexandrian school, where one set of Christian precepts was formed for the "perfect" ("those who know"), another for believers. Christ himself was said by the Alexandrians (not merely by the gnostics) to have committed an esoteric doctrine to his intimate disciples, and to have provided for its transmission.

Christians during those early centuries. It was *intellectual truth and lucidity* in which they revelled and gloried. Polytheism seemed to them an oppressive night; now that it was lifted off them, the sun shone clearly in the sky! Wherever they looked, everything became clear and certain in the light of spiritual monotheism, thanks to the living God. Read, for example, the epistle of Clemens Romanus,[1] the opening of the Clementine Homily,[2] or the epistle of Barnabas;[3] listen to the apologists, or study Clement of Alexandria and Origen. They gaze at Nature, only to rejoice in the order and unity of its movement; heaven and earth are a witness to them of God's omnipotence and unity. They consider the capacity and endowments of human nature, and trace in them the Creator. In human reason and liberty they extol his boundless goodness; they compare the revelations and the will of God with this reason and freedom, and lo, there is entire harmony between them! Nothing is laid on man which does not already lie within him, nothing is revealed which is not already presupposed in his inward being. They look at Christ, and scales fall, as it were, from their eyes! What wrought in him

[1] Espccially chap. xix. f.

[2] 2 Clem. i. 4 f.: τὸ φῶς ἡμῖν ἐχαρίσατο . . . . πηροὶ ὄντες τῇ διανοίᾳ προσκυνοῦντες λίθους καὶ ζύλα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χαλκὸν, ἔργα ἀνθρώπων . . . . ἀμαύρωσιν οὖν περικείμενοι καὶ τοιαύτης ἀχλύος γέμοντες ἐν τῇ ὁράσει ἀνεβλέψαμεν ("He bestowed on us the light . . . . we were blind in understanding, worshipping stones and stocks and gold and silver and brass, the works of men. . . . Thus, girt with darkness and oppressed by so thick a mist in our vision, we regained our sight"). There are numerous passages of a similar nature.

[3] Cp. chap. i., chap. ii. 2 f.

was the Logos, the very Logos by which the world had been created and with which the spiritual part of man was bound up inextricably, the Logos which had wrought throughout human history in all that was noble and good, and which was finally obliged to reveal its power completely in order to dissipate the obstacles and disorders by which man was beset—so weak was he, for all the glory of his creation. Lastly, they contemplate the course of history, its beginning, middle, and end, only to find a common purpose everywhere, which is in harmony with a glorious origin and with a still more glorious end. The freedom of the creature has occasioned disorders, but the disorders are to be gradually overcome by the power of the Christ-Logos. At the commencement of history humanity was like a child, full of good and divine instincts, but as yet untried and liable to temptation; at the close, there is to stand a perfected humanity, fitted to enter immortality. Reason, freedom, immortality—these are to carry the day against error, failure, and decay.

Such was the Christianity of many people, a bright and glad affair, the doctrine of pure reason. The new doctrine proved a deliverance, not an encumbrance, to the understanding. Instead of bringing foreign matter to the understanding, it threw light upon its own darkened contents. *Christianity is a divine revelation, but it is at the same time pure reason; it is the true philosophy.*

Such was the conception entertained by most of the apologists, and they tried to show how the entire content of Christianity was embraced by this idea. Anything that did not fit in, they left out. It was

not that they rejected it. They simply included it in that large collection of evidence, *the proof from prophecy*, to which we have referred already. In this way, anything that appeared of no value materially, retained its formal value. It is impossible in these pages to exhibit in detail the rational philosophy which thus emerged;[1] for our immediate purpose it is enough to state that a prominent group of Christian teachers existed as late as the opening of the fourth century (for Lactantius was among their number) who held this conception of Christianity, and who as apologists and as teachers *ex cathedra* took an active part in the Christian mission. Justin,[2] for example, had his "school," no less than Tatian. The theologians in the royal retinue of Constantine also pursued this way of thinking, and it permeated any imperial decree that touched on Christianity. When Eusebius wishes to make the new religion intelligible to the public at large, he describes it as the religion of reason and lucidity; see, for example, the first book of his church history and the Life of Constantine with its appendices. One might designate all these influential teachers as "rationalists of the supernatural," to employ a technical term of modern church history; but as the revelation was continuous, commencing with creation, never ceasing, and lying in close harmony with the capacities of men, the term "supernatural" is really almost out of place in this connection. The upshot in the present case was a

[1] I have endeavoured to expound it in my *Dogmengeschichte*, I[(4)] pp. 462–507 [Eng. trans., iii. 267 f.].

[2] See the *Acta Justini*, and his *Apology*. We know that Tatian had Rhodon as one of his pupils (Eus., *H.E.*, v. 13).

purely religious rationalism, with a view of history all its own, in which, as was but natural, the final phenomena of the future tallied but poorly with the course which had been measured in the earlier stages. From Justin, Commodian, and Lactantius, we understand how the older apocalyptic and the rationalistic moralism were welded together, without any umbrage being taken at the strange blend of methods which this produced.

III.

But authority and reason, blind faith and clear insight, do not comprise all the forms in which Christianity was brought before the world. The mental standpoint of the age and its religious needs were so manifold that it was unwilling to forego any form, even in Christianity, which was capable of transmitting anything of religious value. It was a complex age, and its needs made even the individual man complex. The very man who longed for an authority to which he might submit blindfold, often longed at the same moment for a reasonable religion; nor was he satisfied even when he had secured them both, but craved for something more, for sensuous pledges which gave him a material representation of holy things, and for symbols of mysterious power. Yet, after all, was this peculiar to that age? Was it only in these days that men have entertained such aspirations?

From the very outset of the Christian religion, its preaching was accompanied by two outward rites, neither less nor more than two, viz., baptism and the Lord's supper. We need not discuss what either

was, or was meant to be, their original significance. The point is, that whenever we enter the field of Gentile Christianity, their significance is essentially fixed; for although Christian worship is to be a worship in spirit and in truth, these sacraments are sacred transactions *which operate on life*, containing the forgiveness of sins, knowledge, and eternal life.[1] No doubt, the elements of water, bread, and wine, are symbols, and the scene of operations is not laid in externals; still, the symbols do actually convey to the soul all that they signify. Each symbol has a mysterious but real connection with the fact which it signifies.

To speak of water, bread, and wine, as holy elements, or of being immersed in water that the soul might be washed and purified: to talk of bread and wine as body and blood, or as the body and the blood of Christ, or as the soul's food for immortality: to correlate water and blood—all this kind of language was quite intelligible to that age. It was intelligible to the blunt realist, as well as to the most sublime among what may be called "the spiritualists." *The two most sublime spiritualists of the church, namely, John and Origen, were the most profound exponents of the mysteries*, while the great gnostic theologians linked on their most abstract theosophies to realistic mysteries. *They were all sacramental theologians.* Christ, they held, had connected, and in fact identified, the benefits he brought to men with symbols, the latter being the channel and vehicle of the former; the man who participates in the unction of the holy symbol getting grace thereby. This was a fact with

[1] See the gospel of John, the epistle of John, and the Didachê with its sacramental prayer.

which people were familiar from innumerable mysteries; in and with the corporeal application of the symbol, unction or grace was poured into the soul. The connection seemed like a predestined harmony, and in fact the union was still more inward. The sentence of the later schoolmen, "Sacramenta continent gratiam," is as old as the Gentile church, and even older, for it was in existence long before the latter sprang into being.

The Christian religion was intelligible and impressive, owing to the fact that it offered men sacraments.[1] Without its mysteries, people would

[1] Many of course took umbrage at the Lord's supper as the eating and drinking of flesh and blood. The criticism of the pagan (Porphyry) in Mac. Magnes, III. xv., is remarkable. He does not attack the mystery of the supper in the Synoptic tradition, but on John vi. 53 ("Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye have no life in yourselves") he observes: "Is it not, then, bestial and absurd, surpassing all absurdity and bestial coarseness, for a man to eat human flesh and drink the blood of his fellow tribesman or relative, and thereby win life eternal? [Porphyry, recollect, was opposed to the eating of flesh and the tasting of blood in general.] Why, tell me what greater coarseness could you introduce into life, if you practise that habit? What further crime will you start, more accursed than this loathsome profligacy? The ear cannot bear to hear it mentioned—and by 'it,' I am far from meaning the action itself, I mean the very name of this strange, utterly unheard of offence. Never, even in extraordinary circumstances, was anything like this offence enacted before mankind in the fantastic presentations of the Erinyes. Not even would the Potidæans have admitted anything like this, although they had been debilitated by inhuman hunger. Of course we know of Thyestes and his meals, etc. [then follow similar cases from antiquity]. All these persons unintentionally committed this offence. But no peaceable person ever served up such food, none ever got such gruesome instructions from any teacher. And if thou wert to pursue thine enquiries as far as Scythia or the Macrobii of Ethiopia, or to travel right round the margin of the sea itself, thou wouldst find people who eat lice and

have found it hard to understand the new religion. But who can tell how these mysteries arose? No one was to blame, no one was responsible. Had not baptism chanced to have been instituted, had not the observance of the holy supper been enjoined (and can any one maintain that these flowed inevitably from the essence of the gospel?), then some sacrament would have been created out of a parable of Jesus, out of a word or act of some kind or another. The age for material and certainly for bloody sacrifices was now past and gone; these were no longer made an alloy of any religion. But the age of sacraments was very far from being past; it was in its full vigour and prime. Every hand that was stretched out for religion, tried to grasp it in sacramental form; the eye saw sacraments where sacraments there were none, and the senses gave them body.[1]

roots, or live on serpents, and make mice their food, but all refrain from human flesh. What, then, does this saying mean? *For even although it was meant to be taken in a more mystical or allegorical* (*and therefore profitable*) *sense,* still the mere sound of the words upon the ear grates inevitably on the soul, and makes it rebel against the loathsomeness of the saying. . . . Many teachers, no doubt, attempt to introduce new and strange ideas. But none has ever devised a precept so strange and horrible as this, neither historian nor philosopher, neither barbarian nor primitive Greek. See here, what has come over you that you foolishly exhort credulous people to follow such a faith? Look at all the mischief that is set thus afoot to storm the cities as well as the villages! Hence it was, I do believe, that neither Mark nor Luke nor Matthew mentioned this saying, just because they were of opinion that it was unworthy of civilized people, utterly strange and unsuitable and quite alien to the habits of a noble life."

[1] By the end of the second century, at the very latest, the *disciplina arcani* embraced the sacraments, partly owing to educational reasons, partly to the example of pagan models. It rendered them still more weighty and impressive.

Water and blood, bread and wine—though the apostle Paul was far from being a sacramental theologian, yet even he could not wholly avoid these mysteries, as is plain if one will but read the eleventh chapter of First Corinthians, and observe his speculations upon baptismal immersion. But Paul was the first and almost [1] the last theologian of the early church with whom sacramental theology was really held in check by clear ideas and strictly spiritual considerations. After him all the flood-gates were opened, and in poured the mysteries with their lore. In Ignatius, who is only sixty years later than Paul, they had already dragged down and engulfed the whole body of intelligent theology. A man like the author of Barnabas believes he has plumbed the depths in connecting his ideas with the water, the blood, and the cross. And the man who wrote these words—"There are three that bear witness, the Spirit and the water and the blood, and these three agree in one" (1 John v. 8)—had a mind which lived in symbols and in mysteries. In the book of Revelation the symbols as a whole are not what we call "symbols" but semi-real things—*e.g.*, the Lamb, the blood, the washing and the sprinkling, the seal and the sealing. Much of this still remains obscure to us. What is the meaning, for example, of the words (1 John ii. 27) about the "unction," an unction conveying a knowledge of everything which is so complete as to render any further teaching quite unnecessary?

But how is this, it may be asked? Is not John a thorough "spiritualist"? And are not Origen,

[1] Not quite the last, for Marcion and his disciples do not seem to have been sacramental theologians at all.

Valentinus, and Basilides also "spiritualists"? How, then, is it possible to assert that their realistic expressions meant something else to them than mere symbols? In the case of John this argument can be defended with a certain amount of plausibility, since we do not know his entire personality, but only John the author. Even as an author he is known to us merely on one side of his nature, for he cannot have always spoken and written as he does in his extant writings. But in regard to the rest, so far as they are known to us on several sides of their characters, the plea is untenable. This becomes evident in studying Clement and Origen, both of whom are amply accessible to us. In their case the combination of the mysterious realistic element with the spiritual is rendered feasible by the fact that they have simply no philosophy of religion at all which is capable of being erected upon one level, but *merely one which consists of different stories built one upon the other.*[1] In the highest of these stories, realism of every kind certainly vanishes; in fact, even the very system of intermediate agencies and forces, including the Logos itself, vanishes entirely, leaving nothing but God and the souls that are akin to him. Here these have a reciprocal knowledge of each other's essence, here they love each other, and thus are absorbed in one another. But ere this consummation is reached, a ladder must be climbed. And every stage or rung has special forces which correspond to it, implying a theology, a metaphysic, and an ethic of its own. On the lowest rung of the

[1] This construction is common to them and to the idealist philosophers of their age.

ascent, religion stands in mythological guise accompanied by sacraments whose inward value is as yet entirely unknown. Even so, this is not falsehood but truth. It answers to a definite state of the soul, and it satisfies this by filling it with rapture. Even on this level the Christian religion is therefore true. Later on, this entirely ceases, and yet it does not cease. It ceases, because it is transcended; it does not cease, because the brethren still require this sort of thing and because the foot of the ladder simply cannot be pulled away without endangering its upper structure.

After this brief sketch we must now try to see the significance of the realistic sacramental theology for these spiritualists. Men like Origen are indeed from our standpoint the most obnoxious of the theologians who occupied themselves with the sacraments, the blood, and the atonement, for in and with these theories they again introduced a large amount of polytheism into Christianity by means of a back-door, since the lower and middle stories of their theological edifice required[1] to be furnished with

[1] For a considerable length of time one of the charges brought by Christians against the Jews was that of *angel-worship* (Preaching of Peter, in Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, vi. 5; Arist., *Apol.* xiv. Celsus also is acquainted with this charge, and angel-worship is, of course, a note of the errorists combated in Colossians). Subsequently the charge came to be levelled against the Christians themselves, and Justin had already written rather incautiously (*Apol.*, I. vi.): [τὸν θεὸν] καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἑπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατόν, πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν ("Both God and the Son who came from him and taught us these things, also the host of the other good angels who follow and are made like to him, and also the prophetic Spirit—these we worship and adore").

angels and archangels, æons, semi-gods, and deliverers of every sort. This was due both to cosmological and to soteriological reasons, for the two correspond like AB and BA. But, above all, theology was enabled by this means to follow the very slightest pressure whatsoever of popular religion, and it is here, of course, that we discover the final clue to the singular enigma now before us. This theology of the mysteries and of various layers and stages afforded the best means of preserving the spiritual character of the Christian religion upon the upper level, and at the same time of arranging any compromise that might be desirable upon the lower. This was hardly brought about by any conscious process. It came about quite naturally, for everything was already present in germ at the very first step, when sacraments were admitted into the religion.

So much for the sublime theologians. With the inferior men the various stages dropped away and the sacramental factors were simply inserted in the religion in an awkward and unwieldy fashion. Just read the remarks made even in that age by Justin the rationalist upon the "cross," in the fifty-fifth chapter of his *Apology*. A more sturdy superstition can hardly be imagined. Consider how Tertullian (*de bapt.*, i.) speaks of the "water" and its affinity with the holy Spirit. One is convinced, moreover, that all Christians with one accord attributed a magical force, exercised especially over demons, to the mere utterance of the name of Jesus and to the sign of the cross; and then one can read the stories of the Lord's supper told by Dionysius of Alexandria, a pupil of Origen, and all that Cyprian is able to narrate as to the

miracle of the host. Putting these and many similar traits together, one feels driven to conclude that Christianity has become a religion of magic, with its centre of gravity in the sacramental mysteries. "Ab initio sic non erat" is the protest that will be entered. "From the beginning it was not so." Perhaps. But one must go far back to find that beginning, so far back that this extremely brief period now eludes our search entirely.

Originally the water, the bread and wine (the body and the blood), the name of Jesus, and the cross, were the sole sacraments of the church, whilst baptism and the Lord's supper were the sole mysteries. But this state of matters could not continue. For different reasons, including reasons of philosophy, all sacraments pressed eagerly to be enlarged, and so our period witnesses the further rise of sacramental details,—anointing, the laying on of hands, sacred oil and salt, etc. But the most momentous result was the gradual assimilation of the entire Christian worship to the nature of the ancient mysteries. By the third century it could already rival the most imposing cultus in all paganism, with its solemn and exact ritual, its priests, its sacrifices, and its holy ceremonies.

These developments, however, are by no means to be judged from the standpoint of Puritanism. Every age has to conceive and assimilate religion as it alone can understand religion and make it a living thing for its own purposes. If the traits of Christianity which have been described in the preceding chapters have been correctly stated, if Christianity remained the religion of God the Father, of the Saviour and of salvation, of love and charitable enterprise, then it was

perhaps a loss to assume the forms of contemporary religion in general. But the loss was by no means irreparable. Like every living plant, religion only grows inside a bark. Distilled religion is not religion at all.

Something further, however, still remains to be considered.

We have already seen how certain teachers of great influence—teachers, in fact, who founded the whole theology of the Christian church—felt a strong impulse, and made it their definite aim, to get some *rational* conception of the Christian religion and to present it as the reasonable religion of mankind. This feature proved of great importance to the mission and extension of Christianity. Such teachers at once joined issue with contemporary philosophers, and, as the example of Justin proves, they did not eschew even controversy with these opponents. They kept hold of all that they had in common with Socrates, Plato, and the Stoics; they showed how far people could go with them on the road; they attempted to give a historical explanation[1] of the points in common

[1] The Jewish Alexandrian philosophers had pioneered in this direction, and all that was really needed was to copy them. But they had employed a variety of methods in their attempt, amongst which a choice had to be made. All these attempts *save one* were childish. One was quite appropriate, viz., that which explained the points of agreement by the sway of the same Logos which worked in the Jewish prophets and in the pagan philosophers and poets. One attempt, again, was naïve, viz., that which would expose the Greek philosophers and poets as plagiarists—though Celsus tried to do the same thing with reference to Christ. Finally, it was both naïve and fanatical to undertake the proof that all agreements of the philosophers with Christian doctrine were but a delusion and the work of the devil.

between themselves and paganism; and in this way they inaugurated the great settlement which was inevitable, unless Christians chose to remain a tiny sect of people who refused to concern themselves with culture and scientific learning. Still, as these discussions were carried on in a purely rational spirit, and as there was a frankly avowed partiality for the idea that Christianity was a transparently rational system, vital Christian truths were either abandoned or at any rate neglected. Christians thus became impoverished, and the Christian faith was seriously diluted.

This kind of knowledge was certainly different from Paul's idea of knowledge, nor did it answer to the depths of the Christian religion. In one place, perhaps, the apostle himself employed rational considerations of a Stoic character, when those were available for the purposes of his apologetic (cp. the opening sections of Romans), but he was hardly thinking about such ideas when he thought of the Christian σοφία, σύνεσις, ἐπιστήμη and γνῶσις ("wisdom," "intelligence," "understanding" and "knowledge"). Something very different was present to his mind at such moments. He was thinking of absorption in the being of God as revealed in Christ, of progress in the knowledge of his saving purpose, manifested in revelation and in history, of insight into the nature of sin or the power of demons (those "spirits of the air") or the dominion of death, of the boundless knowledge of God's grace, and of the clear anticipation of life eternal. In a word, he had in view a knowledge that reached up to God himself above all thrones, dominions, and principalities, as well as

down to the depths from which we are delivered, a knowledge that traced human history from Adam to Christ, and that could, at the same time, define both faith and love, both sin and grace.

Paradoxical as it may appear, these lines of knowledge were actually fertilized and fed by the mysteries. From an early period they attached themselves to the mysteries. It was along with the mysteries that they crossed from the soil of heathenism, and it was by dint of the mysteries that they grew and developed upon the soil of Christianity. The position with regard to the mysteries was at that time exactly what it was afterwards in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Despite all their acuteness, it was not the rationalists among the schoolmen who furthered learning and promoted its revival—it was the cabbalists, the natural philosophers, the alchemists, and the astrologers. What was the reason of this, it may be asked? How can learning develop itself by aid of the mysteries? The reply is very simple. Such development is possible, because learning or knowledge is attained by aid of the emotions and the imagination, both of which are therefore able to arouse and to revive it. The great speculative efforts of the syncretistic philosophy of religion, whose principles have been already outlined (cp. pp. 33 f.), were based upon the mysteries (*i.e.*, upon the feelings and fancies whose products were put into shape by means of speculation). The gnostics, who to a man were in no sense rationalists, attempted to transplant these living and glowing speculations to the soil of Christianity, and withal to preserve intact the supremacy of the gospel. But the attempt could

not succeed. Speculations of this kind contained too many elements foreign to the spirit of Christianity which could not be relinquished.[1] But as separate fragments, broken up as it were into their constituent elements, they were able to render, and they did render, very signal services to a productive Christian philosophy of religion — these separate elements being perhaps in this case prior to the combinations, which came later in the day. All the more profound conceptions generated within Christianity subsequently to the close of the first century, all the transcendental knowledge, all those tentative ideas, which nevertheless were of more value than mere logical deductions—all this sprang in large measure from the contact of Christianity with the ancient science of the mysteries. It disengaged profound conceptions and rendered them articulate. This is unmistakable in the case of John or of Ignatius or of Irenæus, but the clearest case is that of the great Alexandrian school. Materials valuable and useless alike, sheer fantasy and permanent truth which could no longer be neglected, all were of course mixed up in a promiscuous confusion —

[1] These included the distinction between the god of creation (the demiurgus) and the god of redemption (redemption corresponding to emanation, not to creation), the abandonment of the Old Testament god, the dualistic opposition of soul and body, the disintegration of the redemptive personality, etc. Above all, redemption to the syncretist and the gnostic meant the separation of what had been unnaturally conjoined, while to the Christian it meant the union of what had been unnaturally divided. Christianity could not give up the latter conception of redemption, unless she was willing to overturn everything. Besides, this conception alone was adequate to the monarchical position of God.

although this applies least of all to John, who, more than anyone, managed to impress an admirable unity even upon the form and expression of his thoughts. These ideas will, of course, be little to the taste of anyone who holds that empiricism or rationalism confines knowledge within limits which one cannot so much as attempt to overleap; but anyone who assigns greater value to tentative ideas than to an intentional absence of all ideas whatsoever, will not be disposed to underestimate the labour expended by the thinkers of antiquity in connection with the mysteries. At any rate, it is beyond question that this aspect of Christianity, which went on developing almost from the very hour of its birth, proved of the highest moment to the propaganda of the religion. Christianity acquired a special weight from the fact that in the first place it had mysterious secrets of its own, which it sought to fathom only to adore them once again in silence, and secondly, that it preached to the perfect in another and a deeper sense than it did to simple folk. These mysterious secrets may have had, as it is plain that they did have, a deadening effect on thousands of people by throwing obstacles in the way of their access to an intelligible religion; but on other people they had a stimulating effect, giving them wings to soar up into a supra-sensual world.[1]

[1] With this comparative appreciation of speculation in early Christianity, we concede the utmost that can be conceded in this connection. It is a time-honoured view that the richest fruit of Christianity, and in fact its very essence, lies in that "Christian" metaphysic which was the gradual product of innumerable alien ideas dragged into connection with the gospel. But this assertion deserves respect simply on the score of its venerable age. If it

Christianity is a revelation which is to be believed, an authority which is to be obeyed, the rational religion which may be understood and proved, the religion of the mysteries or the sacraments, the religion of transcendentalism—as such it was preached. It was not that every missionary expressed but one aspect of the religion. The various statements were all mixed up together, although every now and then one of them would rise to special prominence. It is with amazement that we sound the depths of all this missionary preaching; yet those who engaged in it were prepared at any moment to drop everything and rest their whole faith on the confession that "There is *one* God of heaven and earth, and Jesus is the Lord."

were true, then Jesus Christ would not be the founder of his religion, and indeed he would not even be its forerunner, since he neither revealed any philosophy of religion nor did he lay stress on anything which from such a standpoint is counted as cardinal. The Greeks certainly forgot before very long the Pauline saying, *ἐκ μέρους γινώσκομεν . . . . βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι* ("We know in part . . . . for now we see in a mirror, darkly"), and they also forgot that as knowledge (*γνῶσις*) and wisdom (*σοφία*) are charismatic gifts, the product of these gifts affords no definition of what Christianity really is. Of the prominent teachers, Marcion, Apelles, and to some extent Irenæus, were the only ones who remained conscious of the limitations of knowledge.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TIDINGS OF THE NEW PEOPLE AND OF THE THIRD RACE: THE HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF CHRISTENDOM.

I.

THE gospel was preached simultaneously as the consummation of Judaism, as a new religion, and as a re-statement and final expression of man's original religion. Nor was this triple aspect preached merely by some individual missionary of dialectic gifts; it was a conception which emerged more or less distinctly in all missionary preaching which attained any considerable volume. Convinced that Jesus, the teacher and the prophet, was also the Messiah who was to return ere long to finish off his work, people passed from the consciousness of being his *disciples* into that of being his *people*, the people of God: ὑμεῖς γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν (1 Pet. ii. 9: "Ye are a chosen *race*, a *royal* priesthood, a holy *nation*, a *people* for possession"); and in so far as they felt themselves to be a *people*, Christians knew they were the *true Israel*, at once the *new* people and the *old*.

This conviction that they were a *people—i.e.*, the transference of all the prerogatives and claims of the

Jewish people to the new community viewed as a new creation which exhibited and put into force whatever was old and original in religion—this at once furnished adherents of the new faith with a *political and historical* self-consciousness. Nothing more comprehensive or complete or impressive than this consciousness can be conceived. Could there be any higher or more comprehensive conception than that of the complex of momenta afforded by the Christians' estimate of themselves as "the true Israel," "the new people," "the original people," and "the people of the future," *i.e.*, of eternity? This estimate of themselves rendered Christians impregnable against all attacks and movements of polemical criticism, while it further enabled them to advance in every direction for a war of conquest. Was the cry raised, "You are renegade Jews"—the answer came, "We are the community of the Messiah, and therefore the true Israelites." If people said, "You are simply Jews," the reply was, "We are a new creation and a new people." If, again, they were taxed with their recent origin and told that they were but of yesterday, they retorted, "We only seem to be the younger People; from the beginning we have been latent, ever in existence, previous to any other people; we are the original people of God." If they were told, "You do not deserve to live," the answer ran, "We would die to live, for we are citizens of the world to come, and sure that we shall rise again."

There were one or two other perfectly definite convictions of a general nature specially taken over by the early Christians at the very outset from the stores accumulated by a survey of history made

from the Jewish standpoint. Applied to their own purposes, these were as follows:—(1) Our people is older than the world; (2) the world was created for our sakes;[1] (3) the world is carried on for our sakes; we retard the judgment of the world; (4) everything in the world is subject to us and must serve us; (5) everything in the world, the beginning and course and end of all history, is revealed to us and lies transparent to our eyes; (6) we shall take part in the judgment of the world and ourselves enjoy eternal bliss. In various early Christian documents, dating from before the middle of the second century, these convictions find expression, in sermons, apocalypses, epistles, and apologies,[2] and nowhere else did Celsus vent his fierce disdain of Christians and their shameless, absurd pretensions, with such keenness as upon this point.[3]

[1] By means of these two convictions, Christians made out their case for a position superior to the world, and established a connection between creation and history.

[2] Cp. the epistles of Paul, the apocalypse of John, the "Shepherd" of Hermas (*Vis.*, ii. 4. 1), the second epistle of Clement (xiv.), and the *Apologies* of Aristides and Justin (II. vii.). Similar statements occur earlier in the Jewish apocalypses.

[3] He is quite aware that these pretensions are common to Jews and Christians, that the latter took them over from the former, and that both parties contended for the right to their possession. Μετὰ ταῦτα, observes Origen (*c. Cels.*, IV. xxiii.), συνήθως ἑαυτῷ γελῶν τὸ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Χριστιανῶν γένος πάντας παραβέβληκε νυκτερίδων ὁρμαδῷ ἢ μύρμηξιν ἐκ καλιᾶς προελθοῦσιν ἢ βατράχοις περὶ τέλμα συνεδρεύουσιν ἢ σκώληξιν ἐν βορβόρου γωνίᾳ ἐκκλησιάζουσι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερομένοις, τίνες αὐτῶν εἶεν ἁμαρτωλότεροι, καὶ φάσκουσιν ὅτι πάντα ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς προδηλοῖ καὶ προκαταγγέλλει, καὶ τὸν πάντα κόσμον καὶ τὴν οὐράνιον φορὰν ἀπολιπὼν καὶ τὴν τοσαύτην γῆν παριδὼν ἡμῖν μόνοις πολιτεύεται καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μόνους ἐπικηρυκεύεται καὶ πέμπων οὐ διαλείπει καὶ ζητῶν, ὅπως ἀεὶ συνῶμεν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀναπλάσματί γε ἑαυτοῦ παραπλησίους

But for Christians who knew they were the old and the new People, it was not enough to set this self-consciousness over against the Jews alone, or to contend with them for the possession of the promises and of the sacred book;[1] settled on the soil of the Greek

ἡμᾶς ποιεῖ σκώληξι, φάσκουσιν ὅτι ὁ θεός ἐστιν, εἶτα μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἡμεῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γεγονότες πάντῃ ὅμοιοι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἡμῖν πάντα ὑποβέβληται, γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀὴρ καὶ ἄστρα, καὶ ἡμῶν ἕνεκα πάντα, καὶ ἡμῖν δουλεύειν τέτακται. λέγουσι δέ τι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ οἱ σκώληκες, ἡμεῖς δηλαδή, ὅτι νῦν, ἐπειδή τινες [ἐν] ἡμῖν πλημμελοῦσιν, ἀφίξεται θεὸς ἢ πέμψει τὸν υἱόν, ἵνα καταφλέξῃ τοὺς ἀδίκους καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχωμεν. καὶ ἐπιφέρει γε πᾶσιν ὅτι ταῦτα [μᾶλλον] ἀνεκτὰ σκωλήκων καὶ βατράχων ἢ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Χριστιανῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερομένων ("In the next place, laughing as usual at the race of Jews and Christians, he likens them all to a flight of bats, or a swarm of ants crawling out of their nest, or frogs in council on a marsh, or worms in synod on the corner of a dunghill, quarrelling as to which of them is the greater sinner, and declaring that 'God discloses and announces all things to us beforehand; God deserts the whole world and the heavenly region and disregards this great earth in order to domicile himself among us alone; to us alone he makes his proclamations, ceasing not to send and seek that we may company with him for ever.' And in his representation of us, he likens us to worms that declare 'there is a God, and next to him are we whom he has made in all points like unto himself, and to whom all things are subject—land and water, air and stars; all things are for our sakes, and are appointed to serve us.' As he puts it, the worms, *i.e.*, we Christians, declare also that 'since certain of our number commit sin, God will come or send his son to burn up the wicked and to let the rest of us have life eternal with himself.' To all of which he subjoins the remark that such discussions would be more tolerable among worms and frogs than among Jews and Christians").

[1] This controversy occupies the history of the first generation and stretches even further down. Although the broad lines of the position taken up by Christians on this field were clearly marked out, this did not exclude the possibility of various attitudes being assumed, as may be seen from my study in the third section of the first volume of the *Texte u. Untersuchungen* (1883), upon "the anti-Jewish polemic of the early church."

and Roman empire, they had to define their position with regard to this realm and its "people." The apostle Paul had already done so, and in this he was followed by others.

In classifying mankind Paul does speak in one passage of "Greeks and barbarians" alongside of Jews (Rom. i. 14), and in another of "barbarians and Scythians" alongside of Greeks (Col. iii. 11); but, like a born Jew and a Pharisee, he usually bisects humanity into circumcised and uncircumcised—the latter being described, for the sake of brevity, as "Greeks."[1] Beside or over against these two "peoples" he places the church of God as a new creation (cp., *e.g.*, 1 Cor. x. 32, "Give no occasion of stumbling to Jews or Greeks or to the church of God"). Nor does this mere juxtaposition satisfy him. He proceeds forthwith to the conception of this new creation as that which is to embrace both Jews and Greeks, rising above the differences of both peoples into a higher unity. The people of Christ are not a third people to him beside their neighbours. They represent the new grade on which human history reaches its consummation, a grade which is to supersede the previous grade of bisection, cancelling or annulling not only national but also social and even sexual distinctions.[2] Com-

[1] Even in the passage from Colossians the common expression "Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision" (Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαῖος, περιτομὴ καὶ ἀκροβυστία) is put first; "barbarian, Scythian, bond and free" (βάρβαρος, Σκύθης, δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος) follows as a rhetorical amplification.

[2] It was in the conception of Christ as the second Adam that the conception of the new humanity as opposed to the old, a conception which implies a dual division, was most deeply rooted.

pare, *e.g.*, Gal. iii. 28: *οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλλην, οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*, or Gal. v. 6: *ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε περιτομή τι ἰσχύει οὔτε ἀκροβυστία, ἀλλὰ πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη* (cp. vi. 15, *οὔτε γὰρ περιτομή τι ἐστιν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία, ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις*, and 2 Cor. v. 17). 1 Cor. xii. 13: *ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν, εἴτε Ἰουδαῖοι εἴτε Ἕλληνες, εἴτε δοῦλοι εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι.* Coloss. iii. 11: *ὅπου οὐκ ἔνι Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαῖος, περιτομὴ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, βάρβαρος, Σκύθης, δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος.* Most impressive of all is Ephes. ii. 11 f.: *μνημονεύετε ὅτι ποτὲ ὑμεῖς τὰ ἔθνη . . . . ἦτε ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ Ἰσραήλ . . . . (ὁ Χριστός) ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμφότερα ἓν καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσας . . . . ἵνα τοὺς δύο κτίσῃ ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον ποιῶν εἰρήνην, καὶ ἀποκαταλλάξῃ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι.* Finally, in Rom. ix.–xi. Paul promulgates a philosophy of history, according to which the new People, whose previous history fell within the limits of Israel, includes the Gentile world now that Israel has been rejected, but will embrace in the end not merely "the fulness of the Gentiles" (*πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν*) but also "all Israel" (*πᾶς Ἰσραήλ*).

Greeks (*Gentiles*), *Jews, and the Christians as the new People* (destined to embrace the two first)—this triple division now becomes frequent in early

The former idea obviously played a leading part in the world of Pauline thought, but it was not introduced for the first time by him; in the Messianic system of the Jews this idea already held a place of its own. In Paul and in other Christian thinkers the idea of a dual classification of mankind intersects that of a triple classification, but both ideas are at one in this, that the new humanity cancels the old.

Christian literature, as one or two examples will show.[1]

The fourth evangelist makes Christ say (x. 16): "And other sheep have I which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one flock, one shepherd." And again, in a profound prophetic utterance (iv. 21 f.): "The hour cometh when neither in this mountain [that of the Samaritans, who stand here as representatives of the Gentiles] nor in Jerusalem

[1] For Christians as the new People, see the "Shepherd" of Hermas, and *Barn.*, v. 7 (Χριστὸς) ἑαυτῷ τὸν λαὸν τὸν καινὸν ἑτοιμάζων (Christ preparing himself the new people); vii. 5, ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν μέλλων τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ καινοῦ προσφέρειν τὴν σάρκα (Christ about to offer his flesh for the sins of the new people); xiii. 6, βλέπετε . . . . τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον [new and evidently young] εἶναι πρῶτον (ye see that this people is the first); 2 Clem. ad Cor. ii. 3, ἔρημος ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ λαὸς ἡμῶν, νυνὶ δὲ πιστεύσαντες πλείονες ἐγενόμεθα τῶν δοκούντων ἔχειν θέον ("Our people seemed to be forsaken of God, but now we have become more numerous by our faith than those who seemed to possess God"); Ignat., *ad Ephes.*, xix.–xx.; Aristides, *Apol.* xvi. ("truly this people is new, and a divine admixture is in them"); *Orac. Sibyll.*, i. 383 f., βλαστὸς νεὸς ἀνθησείει ἐξ ἐθνῶν ("a fresh growth shall blossom out of the Gentiles"). Bardesanes also calls the Christians a new race. Clement (*Paed.*, I. v. 15, on Zech. ix. 9) remarks: οὐκ ἤρκει τὸ πῶλον εἰρηκέναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ νέον προσέθηκεν αὐτῷ, τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ νεολαίαν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος . . . . ἐμφαίνων ("To say 'colt' was not enough; 'young' had to be added, in order to bring out the youth of humanity"); and in I. v. 20 he observes, νέοι ὁ λαὸς ὁ καινὸς πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου λαοῦ τὰ νέα μαθόντες ἀγαθά ("In contradistinction to the older people, the new people are young because they have learned the new blessings"). See also I. vii. 58, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς διὰ μὲν Μωυσέως παιδαγωγὸς ὁ κύριος τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ παλαιοῦ, δι' αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ νέου καθηγεμὼν λαοῦ, πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον ("For it was really the Lord who instructed the ancient people by Moses; but the new people He directs himself, face to face"). The expression "new people" was retained for a long while in those early days; cp., *e.g.*,

shall ye worship the Father; ye worship what ye know not; we worship what we know, for salvation is of the Jews. But the hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth." This passage is of importance, because it is something more than a merely formal classification, describing, as it does, in a positive manner the three possible religious standpoints and apportioning them among the different peoples. First of all, there is ignorance in regard to God, together with an external and therefore a wrong worship (=the Gentiles, or Samaritans); secondly,

Constant., *ad s. coet.* xix., *κατὰ χρόνον τοῦ Τιβερίου ἡ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐξέλαμψε παρουσία . . . . ἥ τε νέα τοῦ δήμου διαδοχὴ συνέστη, κ.τ.λ.* ("About the time of Tiberius the advent of the Saviour flashed on the world . . . . and the new succession of the people arose," etc.). —For Christians as a distinctive genus, or as the genus of the truly pious, see *Mart. Polyc.*, iii.: *ἡ γενναιότης τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς καὶ θεοσεβοῦς γένους τῶν Χριστιανῶν* ("The brave spirit of the God-beloved and God-fearing race of Christians"), xiv.: *πᾶν τὸ γένος τῶν δικαίων* ("The whole race of the righteous"; *Martyr Ignat. Antioch.*, ii., *τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεοσεβὲς γένος*—the pious race of Christians). Also Melito, in Eus., *H.E.*, iv. 26. 5, *τὸ τῶν θεοσεβῶν γένος* ("the race of the pious"), Arnobius, i. 1 ("Christiana gens"), pseudo-Josephus, *testim. de Christo* (*τὸ φῦλον τῶν Χριστιανῶν*—the tribe of the Christians); *Orac. Sibyll.*, iv. 136: *εὐσεβέων φῦλον*, etc. Several educated Christians correlated the idea of a new and at the same time a universal people with the Stoic cosmopolitan idea, as, for example, Tertullian, who points out more than once that Christians only recognise *one* State, *i.e.*, the world. Similarly, Tatian writes (*orat.* xxviii.), "I repudiate your legislation; there ought to be only one common polity for all men" (*τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν κατέγνων νομοθεσίας· μίαν μὲν γὰρ ἐχρῆν εἶναι καὶ κοινὴν ἁπάντων τὴν πολιτείαν*). This democratic and cosmopolitan feature of Christianity was undoubtedly of extreme service to the propaganda among the lower and middle classes, particularly throughout the provinces. Religious equality was felt, up to a certain degree, to mean political and social equality as well.

there is a true knowledge of God together with a wrong, external worship (= the Jews); and thirdly, there is true knowledge of God together with worship that is inward and therefore true (= the Christians). This view gave rise to many similar conceptions in early Christianity; or else it was the precursor of a series of cognate ideas which formed the basis of early Christian speculations upon the history of religion. It was the so-called "gnostics" in particular who frankly built their systems of thought upon ideas of this kind. In these systems, Greeks (or pagans), Jews, and Christians, sometimes appear as different grades; sometimes the two first are combined, with Christians subdivided into "psychic" (ψύχικοι) and "pneumatic" (πνευμάτικοι) members; and finally a fourfold division is also visible, viz., Greeks (or pagans), Jews, churchfolk, and "pneumatic" persons.[1] During that period, when religions were undergoing changes, speculations on the history of religion were in the air; they are to be met with even in inferior and extravagant systems of religion.[2] But from all this we must turn back to writers of the Catholic church with their triple classification.

[1] It is impossible here to go into the question of how this ethnological division of humanity intersected and squared with the other religious division made by the gnostics, viz., the psychological (into "hylic," "psychic," and "pneumatic" persons).

[2] With regard to the religious system of the adherents of Simon Magus, we have this fragmentary and obscure piece of information in Irenæus (I. xxiii.): Simon taught that "he himself was he who had appeared among the Jews as the Son, who had descended in Samaria as the Father, and made his advent among other nations as the holy Spirit" ("Semetipsum esse qui inter Judaeos quidem quasi filius apparuerit, in Samaria autem quasi pater descenderit, in reliquis vero gentibus quasi spiritus sanctus adventaverit").

In one early Christian document from the opening of the second century, of which unfortunately we possess only a few fragments (*i.e.*, the Preaching of Peter, in Clem. *Strom.*, vi. 5. 41), Christians are warned not to fashion their worship on the model of the Greeks or of the Jews (*μὴ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας σέβεσθε τὸν θεόν . . . . μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβεσθε*). Then we read: *ὥστε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως μανθάνοντες ἃ παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν, φυλάσσεσθε καινῶς τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σεβόμενοι· εὕρομεν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς καθῶς ὁ κύριος λέγει· ἰδοὺ διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν καινὴν διαθήκην οὐχ ὡς διεθέμην τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν ἐν ὄρει Χωρήβ· νέαν ὑμῖν διέθετο, τὰ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων παλαιά, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ καινῶς αὐτὸν τρίτῳ γένει σεβόμενοι Χριστιανοί* ("So do you keep what you have learnt from us holily and justly, worshipping God *anew* through Christ. For we find in the scriptures, as the Lord saith, Behold I make a new covenant with you, not as I made it with your fathers in Mount Horeb. A *new* covenant he has made with us, for that of the Greeks and Jews is old, but *ye who worship him anew in the third manner* are Christians").[1]

This writer then also distinguishes Greeks, Jews, and Christians, and distinguishes them, like the fourth evangelist, by the degree of their knowledge and worship of God. But the remarkable thing is his explicit assumption that there are *three* classes, neither more nor less, and his deliberate description of Christianity as the new or *third* genus of worship. There are several similar passages which remain to be noticed, but this is the earliest of them all. Only,

[1] The term "religio Christiana" does not occur till Tertullian, who uses it quite frequently. The apologists speak of the distinctive *θεοσέβεια* of Christians.

it is to be remarked that the author does not yet call Christians themselves "the third race," but ranks their worship as third in the scale. He classifies humanity, not into three peoples, but into three groups of worshippers.

Similarly the author of the epistle to Diognetus. Only, with him the conception of three classes of worshippers is definitely carried over into that of three peoples ("Christians esteem not those whom the Greeks regard as gods, nor do they observe the superstition of the Jews . . . . [thou enquirest] about the nature of this fresh development or interest which has entered life now and not previously," ch. i.; cp. also ch. v.: "they are attacked as aliens by the Jews, and persecuted by the Greeks"). This is brought out particularly in his endeavour to prove that as Christians have a special manner of life, existing socially and politically by themselves, they have a legitimate claim to be ranked as a special "nation."

In his Apology to the Emperor Pius, Aristides distinctly classifies human beings into three "orders," which are equivalent to nations, as Aristides assigns to each its genealogy—*i.e.*, its historical origin. He writes (ch. ii.): *φανερὸν γάρ ἐστιν ἡμῖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὅτι τρία γένη εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ· ὧν εἰσιν οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν λεγομένων θεῶν προσκυνηταὶ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Χριστιανοί· αὐτοὶ δὲ πάλιν οἱ τοὺς πολλοὺς σεβόμενοι θεοὺς εἰς τρία διαρροῦνται γένη, Χαλδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλληνας καὶ Αἰγυπτίους* (then follows the evidence for the origin of these nations, whilst the Christians are said to "derive their genealogy from Jesus Christ").[1]

[1] "It is clear to us, O king, that there are three orders of mankind in this world; these are, the worshippers of your

The religious philosophy of history presented by Clement of Alexandria rests entirely upon the view that these two nations, Greeks and Jews, were alike trained by God, but that they are now (see Paul's epistle to the Ephesians) to be raised into the higher unity of a third nation. It may suffice to bring forward three passages bearing on this point. In *Strom.*, iii. 10. 70, he writes (on the saying, "where two or three are gathered together," etc.): *εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ἡ ὁμόνοια τῶν πολλῶν ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀριθμουμένη μεθ' ὧν ὁ κύριος, ἡ μία ἐκκλησία, ὁ εἷς ἄνθρωπος, τὸ γένος τὸ ἕν. ἢ μή τι μετὰ μὲν τοῦ ἑνὸς τοῦ Ἰουδαίου ὁ κύριος νομοθετῶν ἦν, προφητεύων δὲ ἤδη καὶ τὸν Ἱερεμίαν ἀποστέλλων εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν διὰ τῆς προφητείας καλῶν, συνῆγε λαοὺς τοὺς δύο, τρίτος δὲ ἦν ἐκ τῶν δυεῖν κτιζόμενος εἰς καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, ᾧ δὴ ἐμπεριπατεῖ τε καὶ κατοικεῖ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* ("Now the harmony of the many, calculated from the three with whom the

acknowledged gods, the Jews, and the Christians. Furthermore, those who worship a plurality of gods are again divided into three orders, viz., Chaldeans, Greeks, and Egyptians." In the Syrian and Armenian versions the passage runs somewhat otherwise. "This is clear, O king, that there are four races of men in the world, barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians" (omitting altogether the further subdivision of the Greeks into three classes). Several scholars prefer this rendering, though it should be noted that Hippolytus also, in *Philos.*, x. 30 (twice) and 31 (twice), contrasts the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Greeks with the Jews and Christians. Still the question is one of minor importance for our present purpose.—Justin (*Dial.* cxxiii.) also derives Christians from Christ, not as their teacher but as their progenitor: *ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς Ἰακὼβ ἐκείνου, τοῦ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπικληθέντος, τὸ πᾶν γένος ὑμῶν προσηγόρευτο Ἰακὼβ καὶ Ἰσραήλ, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ γεννήσαντος ἡμᾶς εἰς θεὸν Χριστοῦ . . . . καὶ θεοῦ τέκνα ἀληθινὰ καλούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν . . . .* ("As all your nation has been called Jacob and Israel from the one man Jacob, who was surnamed Israel, so *from Christ who begat us unto God* . . . . we are called, and we are, God's true children").

Lord is present, might signify the one church, the one man, the one race. Or was the Lord legislating with the one Jew [at Sinai], and then, when he prophesied and sent Jeremiah to Babylon, calling some also from the heathen, did he collect the two peoples together, while the third was created out of the twain into a new man, wherein he is now resident, dwelling within the church"). Again, in *Strom.*, v. 14. 98, on Plato's *Republic*, iii. p. 415 : *εἰ μή τι τρεῖς τινας ὑποτιθέμενος φύσεις, τρεῖς πολιτείας, ὡς ὑπέλαβόν τινες, διαγράφει, καὶ Ἰουδαίων μὲν ἀργυρᾶν, Ἑλλήνων δὲ τρίτην* [a corrupt passage, incorrectly read as early as Eus., *Prepar.*, xiii. 13; on the margin of L there is the lemma, *Ἑλλήνων σιδηρᾶν ἢ χαλκήν, Χριστιανῶν χρυσῆν*], *Χριστιανῶν δὲ, οἷς ὁ χρυσὸς ὁ βασιλικὸς ἐγκαταμέμικται, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα* ("Unless he means by his hypothesis of three natures to describe, as some conjecture, three polities, the Jews being the silver one, and the Greeks the third [the lemma running thus :—"The Greeks being the iron or brass one, and the Christians the gold one"], along with the Christians, with whom the regal gold is mixed, even the holy Spirit"). Finally in *Strom.*, vi. 5. 42 : *ἐκ γοῦν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νομικῆς εἰς τὸ ἓν γένος τοῦ σωζομένου συνάγονται λαοῦ οἱ τὴν πίστιν προσιέμενοι, οὐ χρόνῳ διαιρουμένων τῶν τριῶν λαῶν, ἵνα τις φύσεις ὑπολάβοι τριττάς, κ.τ.λ.* ("From the Hellenic discipline, as also from that of the law, those who accept the faith are gathered into the one race of the people who are saved — not that the peoples are separated by time, as though one were to suggest three different natures," etc.).[1]

[1] Clement (*Strom.*, ii. 15. 67) once heard a "wise man" explain that Gentiles ("seat of the ungodly"), Jews ("way of sinners"),

Evidence may be led also from other early Christian writers to show that the triad of "Greeks (Gentiles), Jews, and Christians," was the church's basal conception of history.[1] It was employed with especial frequency in the interpretation of biblical stories. Thus Tertullian enlists it in his exposition of the prodigal son (*de pudic.*, viii. f.); Hippolytus (*Comm. in Daniel*, ed. Bonwetsch, p. 32) finds the Christians in Susanna, and the Greeks and Jews in the two elders who lay snares for her; while pseudo-Cyprian (*de mont. Sina et Sion*, vii.) explains that the two thieves represent the Greeks and Jews. But, so far as I am aware, the blunt expression, "We Christians are the third race," only occurs once in early Christian literature subsequent to the Preaching of Peter (where, moreover, it is simply the Christian worship which is described as the third class), and that is in the pseudo-Cyprianic tract *de pascha computus* (c. 17), written in 242–243 A.D. Unfortunately the context of the expression is not quite clear. Speaking of hell-fire, the author declares it has consumed the opponents of Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, "et ipsos tres pueros a dei filio protectos—in mysterio nostro qui sumus tertium genus hominum — non vexavit" ("Without hurting, however, those three lads, protected by the Son of God—in the mystery which pertains

and heretics ("seat of the scornful"), were meant in Ps. i. 1. This addition of "heretics" is simply occasioned by the passage under discussion.

[1] The letter of Hadrian to Servianus (Vopisc., *Saturnin.*, viii.) is to be included among these witnesses, if it is a Christian fabrication: "hunc (nummum) Christiani, hunc Judaei, hunc omnes venerantur et gentes" ("Christians, Jews, and all nations worship this one thing, money").

to us who are the third race of mankind"). It is hard to see how the writer could feel he was reminded of Christians as the third race of men by the three children who were all-pleasing in God's sight, although they were cast into the fiery furnace; still, reminded he was, and at any rate the inference to be drawn from the passage is that he must have been familiar with the description of Christians as a "third race." What sense he attached to it, we are not yet in a position to determine with any certainty; but we are bound to assume, in the first instance, from our investigations up to this point, that Christians were to him a third race, alongside of the Greeks (Gentiles) and Jews. Whether this assumption is correct or false, is a question to be decided in the second section of our inquiry.

II.

The consciousness of being a *people*,[1] and of being indeed *the primitive and the new* people, did not remain abstract or unfruitful in the church; it was developed in the most diverse directions. In this respect also the synagogue had led the way at every

[1] Cp. the first book of the Church History of Eusebius, especially ch. iv.: *τῆς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας νεωστὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιλαμψάσης, νέον ὁμολογουμένως ἔθνος, οὐ μικρὸν οὐδ' ἀσθενὲς οὐδ' ἐπὶ γωνίας που γῆς ἱδρυμένον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν πολυανθρωπότατόν τε καὶ θεοσεβέστατον . . . . τὸ παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσι τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσηγορίᾳ τετιμημένον* ("*It is agreed* that when the appearance of our Saviour Jesus Christ recently broke upon all men, there appeared *a new nation*, admittedly neither small nor weak nor dwelling in any corner of the earth, but the most numerous and pious of all nations . . . . honoured by all men with the title of Christ").

point, but Christianity met its claim by making that claim her own and extending it, wherever this was possible, beyond the limits within which Judaism had confined it.

There were three cardinal directions in which the church voiced her peculiar consciousness of being the primitive people. (1) She demonstrated that, like any other people, she had a characteristic life. (2) She tried to show that so far as the philosophical learning, the worship, and the polity of other peoples were praiseworthy, they were plagiarized from the Christian religion. (3) She began to set on foot, though merely in the shape of tentative ideas, some political reflections regarding her own actual importance within the world-empire of Rome, as well as upon the positive relation between the latter and herself as the new religion for the world.

1. The proofs advanced by early Christianity with regard to its πολιτεία were twofold. The theme of one set of them was stated by Paul in Philippians iii. 20: "Our citizenship (πολιτεία) is in heaven" (cp. Heb. xiii. 13 f.: "Let us go outside the camp . . . . for here we have no permanent city, but we seek one which is to come"). On this view Christians feel themselves pilgrims and sojourners on earth, walking by faith and not by sight; their whole course of life is a renunciation of the world, and is determined solely by the future kingdom towards which they hasten. This mode of life is voiced most loudly in the first similitude of Hermas, where two cities with their two lords are set in opposition—one belonging to the present, the other to the future. The Christian must have nothing whatever to do with the former

city and its lord the devil; his whole course of life must be opposed to that of the present city, with its arrangements and laws. In this way Christians were able emphatically to represent themselves as really a special people, with a distinctive course of life; but they need not have felt surprised when people took them at their word, and dismissed them with the remark: *πάντες ἑαυτοὺς φονεύσαντες πορεύεσθε ἤδη παρὰ τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἡμῖν πράγματα μὴ παρέχετε* ("Go and kill yourselves, everyone of you; begone to God at once, and leave us in peace)," quoted by Justin, *Apol.*, II. iv.

This, however, represented but one side of the proof that Christianity had a characteristic life and order of its own. With equal energy an attempt was made to show that there was a polity realized in Christianity which was differentiated from that of other nations by its absolute morality (see above, pp. 259 f.). As early as the apostolic epistles, no point of dogma is more emphatically brought forward than the duty of a holy life, by means of which Christians are to shine as lights amid a corrupt and crooked generation. "Not like the Gentiles," nor like the Jews, but as the people of God—that is the watchword. Every sphere of life, down to the most intimate and trivial, was put under the discipline of the Spirit and re-arranged; we have only to read the Didachê in order to find out the earnestness with which Christians took "the way of life." In line with this, a leading section in all the Christian apologies was occupied by the exposition of the Christian polity as a polity which was purely ethical, the object being in every case to show that this Christian polity was in accordance with the highest moral standards,

standards which even its opponents had to recognize, and that for this very reason it was opposed to the polity of the other nations. The *Apologies* of Justin (especially I. xiv. f.), Aristides (xv.), Tatian and Tertullian especially, fall to be considered in this light.[1] The conviction that they are in possession of a distinctive polity is also voiced in the notion of Christians as the army of the true God and of Christ. This image is employed as early as Paul (Eph. vi. 14 f.; see 2 Tim. ii. 3: *καλὸς στρατιώτης Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ*). In the West it became quite a common idea, thanks to Tertullian and especially to Cyprian, bound up as it was very closely with the notion of baptism as the Christian's military oath (Christ as the *imperator* in Cypr., *ep.* xv. 1).[2] Probably, as Zahn conjectures, we are to find here the explanation of the term "pagani" (="civilians") applied to the heathen at

[1] The belauded description in the epistle to Diognetus (v. 6) is a fine piece of rhetoric, but not much more than that. The author manages to express three aspects, as it were, in a single breath: the Christian polity as the climax of morals, the Christian aloofness from the world, and the inwardness by which this religion was enabled to live in the midst of the world and adapt itself to all outward conditions without any loss of purity. A man who is able to weave these ideas into one perfect woof, either stands on the high level of the Fourth evangelist—a position to which the author can hardly be promoted—or else incurs the suspicion of paying no serious attention to any one of the three ideas in question.

[2] Cp. Orig., *c. Cels.*, VIII. lxxiii.: *ἡμεῖς καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπερμαχοῦμεν τοῦ βασιλέως· καὶ οὐκ συστρατευόμεθα μὲν αὐτῷ, κἂν ἐπείγῃ, στρατευόμεθα δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἴδιον στρατόπεδον εὐσεβείας συγκροτοῦντες διὰ τῶν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐντεύξεων* ("We fight for the king even better than others do. For although we do not fight under him, even if he requires us to, we fight on his behalf, forming a special army of piety, by means of the prayers we offer to God").

a subsequent period by the Christians. Details of this will be given in Book III.[1]

2. The strict morality, the monotheistic view of the world, and the disposition of the entire life of man, private and social, under the regulations of a supreme ethical code—all this is "what has been from the very first" ("quod ab initio fuit"). Now as the church finds this once more repeated in her own life, she recognizes in this phenomenon the guarantee that she herself, though apparently the youngest of the nations, is in reality the oldest. Furthermore, as she undertakes to bring forward proof for this conviction by drawing upon the books of Moses, which she appropriated for her own use (cp. Tatian, Theophilus, Clement, Tertullian, and Julius

[1] Hermas (*Sim.*, ix. 17) brings forward one most important aspect of the Christian polity, viz., its power of combining in a mental and moral *unity* peoples of very varied capacities and customs. The stones built into the tower (*i.e.*, the church) from the various mountains (the nations) are at first many-coloured, but upon being built in, they all acquire the same white colour: *λαβόντες τὴν σφραγῖδα μίαν φρόνησιν ἔσχον καὶ ἕνα νοῦν, καὶ μία πίστις αὐτῶν ἐγένετο καὶ μία ἀγάπη . . . . διὰ τοῦτο ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου μιᾷ χρὸᾳ ἐγένετο λαμπρὰ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος* ("On receiving the seal they had one understanding and one mind, one faith and one love became theirs . . . . wherefore the fabric of the tower became of one colour, bright as the sun"); cp. also Iren., I. 10. 2. Celsus (*c. Cels.*, VIII. lxxii.) longed ardently for such a unity of mankind, instead of humanity being split up into nationalities. But he regarded it as a mere Utopia. *Εἰ γὰρ δὴ οἷόν τε εἰς ἕνα συμφρονῆσαι νόμον τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην καὶ Λιβύην Ἕλληνάς τε καὶ βαρβάρους ἄχρι περάτων νενεμημένους* ("Were it at all possible that the inhabitants of Asia, Europe, and Libya, Greeks and barbarians alike, should unite to obey one law"). On which Origen remarks: *ἀδύνατον τοῦτο νομίσας εἶναι ἐπιφέρει* [sc. Celsus] *ὅτι ὁ τοῦτο οἰόμενος οἶδεν οὐδέν* ("Judging this an impossibility, he adds that anyone who thinks it possible knows nothing at all").

Africanus),[1] she is thereby dethroning the Jewish people and claiming for herself the primitive revelation, the primitive wisdom, and the genuine worship. Hence she acquires the requisite insight and courage, not merely to survey and appropriate for herself the content of everything in connection with revelation, wisdom, and worship that had appeared on the horizon of other nations, but to survey and estimate these materials as if they were merely copies made from an original in her own possession. We all know the space devoted by the early Christian apologies to the proof that Greek philosophy, so far as it merited praise and was itself correct, had been plagiarized from the primitive literature which belonged to Christians. The efforts made in this direction culminate in the statement that "Whatever truth is uttered anywhere has come from us." The audacity of this assertion is apt to hide from us at this time of day the grandeur and vigour of the self-consciousness to which it gives expression. Justin had already claimed any true piece of knowledge as "Christian," whether it occurred in Homer, the tragedians, the comic poets, or the philosophers. Did it never dawn on him, or did he indeed suspect, that his entire standpoint was upset by such an extension of its range, and that what was specifically "Christian" was transformed into what was common to all men? Clement of Alexandria, at any rate, who followed him in this line of thought, not merely suspected this inference, but deliberately followed it up.

[1] Note in passing that this marks the beginning in general of the universal chronography of history, and consequently of the general Christian outlook upon the entire course of human history.

By comparing itself with philosophy, early Christianity gave itself out as a "philosophy," while those who professed it were "philosophers." This, however, is one form of its self-consciousness which must not be overrated, for it is almost exclusively confined to the Christian apologetic and polemic. Christians never doubted, indeed, that their doctrine was really the truth, and therefore the true philosophy. But then it was infinitely more than a philosophy. It was the wisdom of God. Similarly they themselves were different from mere philosophers; they were God's people, God's friends. It suited their polemic, however, to designate Christianity as philosophy, or "barbarian" philosophy, and adherents of Christianity as "philosophers." And that for two reasons. In the first place, it was the only way of explaining to outsiders the nature of Christian doctrine —for to institute a positive comparison between it and pagan *religions* was a risky procedure. And in the second place, this presupposition made it possible for Christians to demand from the State as liberal treatment for themselves as that accorded to philosophy and to philosophic schools. It is in this sense above all that we must understand the favourite parallel drawn by the apologists between Christianity and philosophy. Individual teachers who were at the head either of a school (διδασκαλεῖον) within the church or of an independent school, did take the parallel more seriously;[1] but such

[1] Such teachers, with their small groups, hardly felt themselves to be the "primitive people." Their consciousness of entire independence was expressed in the titles of "gifted" and "learned." We shall have to discuss the Christian διδασκαλεῖα and

persons were to some degree merely adjuncts of catholic Christendom.[1]

The charge of plagiarism was not merely levelled against philosophy, so far as philosophy was genuine, but also against any rites and methods of worship which furnished actual or alleged parallels to those of Christianity. Little material of this kind was to be found in the official cults of the Greeks and Romans, but this deficiency was more than made up for by the rich spoil which lay in the mysteries and the exotic cults, the cult of Mithra, in particular, attracting the attention of Christian apologists in this connection, at a very early period. The verdict on all such features was quite simple; the demons, it was held, had imitated Christian rites in the cults of paganism. If it could not be denied that those pagan rites and sacraments were older than their Christian parallels, the plea readily suggested itself that the demons had given a distorted copy of Christianity previous to its real appearance, with the object of discrediting it beforehand. Baptism, the Lord's supper, the expiatory actions, the cross, etc., are instances in point. The interests of dogma are always able to impinge on history, and they do so constantly. But here we have to consider some cases which are specially

its significance for the Christian propaganda in another connection; but we can well understand how pagans found the Christians' claim to be "learned" and "philosophers," a peculiarly ridiculous and presumptuous pretension. On their part they dubbed Christians as credulous, and scoffed at them as πιστοί ("believers") who put faith in foreign fables and old wives' gossip.

[1] They have nothing to do with the primitive shape assumed by Christianity, that of Jesus as the teacher and the disciples as his pupils.

instructive, since the Christian rites and sacraments attained their final shape under the influence of the mysteries and their rites (not, of course, the rites of any special cultus, but those belonging to the general type of the mysteries), so that dogma made the final issue of the process its first cause. Yet even in this field the *quid pro quo* is seen in a more favourable light when we notice that Christendom posits itself as the original People at the dawn of human history, a consciousness which underlies their entire outlook upon that history. For in the light of this presupposition the Christian confiscation of those pagan rites and ceremonies simply denotes the assertion of the Christian character as ideally human and therefore divine. Christians embody the fundamental principles of that divine revelation and worship which are the source of human history, and which constitute the primitive possession of Christianity, although that possession has of course lain undiscovered till the present moment.

3. The most interesting side of the Christian consciousness of being a people, is what may be termed, in the narrower sense of the word, the political. Hitherto, however, it has been studied less than the others. The materials are copious, but up till now little attention has been paid to them. I shall content myself here with laying bare the points of most importance.[1]

[1] Tertullian's sentence (*Apol.* xxxviii.): "Nulla magis res nobis aliena quam publica; unam omnium rempublicam agnoscimus, mundum" ("Nothing is more alien to us than politics; we acknowledge but one universal State, the world") has a Stoic tinge; at best, it may be taken with a grain of salt. Besides, people who despise the State always pursue a very active policy of their own.

The political consciousness of the primitive church was based on three presuppositions. There was first of all the political element in the Jewish apocalyptic, which made its appearance over against the demand of the imperial cultus and the terror of the persecution. Then there was the fact of the speedy transit of the gospel from the Jews to the Greeks, and the unmistakable affinity between Christianity and Hellenism, as well as between the church and the world-wide power of Rome. Thirdly, there was the fall and ruin of Jerusalem and the Jewish state. The first of these elements stood in antithesis to the two others, so that in this way the political consciousness of the church came to be defined in opposite directions and had to work from an initial contradiction.

The politics of Jewish apocalyptic viewed the world-State as a diabolic State, and consequently took up a purely negative attitude towards it. This political view is plainly put in the apocalypse of John, where it was corroborated by the Neronic persecution, the imperial claim for worship, and the Domitianic reign of terror. The largest share of attention, comparatively speaking, has been devoted by scholars to this political standpoint, in so far as it lasted throughout the second and the third centuries, and quite recently (1901) Neumann has discussed it thoroughly in his study of Hippolytus. The remarkable thing is that although Christians remained far from numerous till after the middle of the second century, they recognized that Christianity formed the central point of humanity as the field of political history as well as its determining factor. Such a self-consciousness is

perfectly intelligible in the case of Judaism, for the Jews were really a large nation and had a great history behind them. But it is truly astonishing that a tiny group of people should confront the entire strength of the Roman empire,[1] that it should see in the persecution of the Christians the chief rôle of that empire, and that it should make the world's history culminate in such a conflict. The only explanation of this lies in the fact that the church simply took the place of Israel and consequently felt herself to be a *people*; this implied that she was also a political factor, and indeed the factor which ranked as decisive alongside of the State and by which in the end the State was to be overcome. Here we have already the great problem of "church and state" making its appearance, and the uncompromising form given to it at this period became authoritative for succeeding ages. The relationship between these two powers assumed other forms, but this form continued to lie concealed beneath them all.

[1] Tertullian was the first who was able to threaten the state with the great number of Christians (*Apol.* xxxvii., written shortly before 200 A.D.), for up till then people had merely endeavoured to hold out the terrors of the calamities at the close of the world and the return of Christ. Although Christians still lacked a majority in the empire, still (from the outset) a substitute for this, so to speak, was found in the telling fact of the broad diffusion of Christianity throughout the whole empire and beyond its bounds. Even as early as the first generations, the fact that Christians were to be found everywhere, strengthened and moulded their self-consciousness. In contrast to nations shut up within definite boundaries, even though these were as large as those of the Parthians, Tertullian calls Christians (*Apol.* xxxvii.) the "gens totius orbis," *i.e.*, the people of the whole world. And this had been felt long before even Tertullian wrote.

This, however, is only one side of the question. The transition of the gospel from the Jews to the Greeks, the unmistakable affinity between Christianity and Hellenism, as well as between the church and the Roman world-power, and finally the downfall of the Jewish state at the hands of Rome—these factors gave rise to a whole set of ideas upon the relations of the empire and the church, which were very different from the aims of the accepted apocalyptic. Any systematic treatment of this view would be out of place, however; it would give a wrong impression of the situation. The better way will be, as we are dealing merely with tentative ideas, to get acquainted with the most important features and look at them one by one.

2 Thess. ii. 5–7 is the oldest passage in Christian literature in which a positive meaning is attached to the Roman empire. It is represented there, not as the realm of antichrist, but, on the contrary, as the restraining power by means of which the final terrors and the advent of antichrist are held in check. For by τὸ κατέχον (ὁ κατέχων), "that which (or he who) restrains," we must understand the Roman empire. If this be so, it follows that the church and the empire could not be considered merely as diametrically opposed to each other.

Rom. xiii. 1 f. makes this quite plain, and proceeds to draw the inference that civil authority is θεοῦ διάκονος ("a minister of God"), appointed by God for the suppression of wickedness; resistance to it means resistance to a divine ordinance. Consequently one must not merely yield to its force, but obey it for conscience' sake. The very payment of taxes is a

moral duty. The author of 1 Pet. ii. 13 f.[1] expresses himself in similar terms. But he goes a step further, following up the fear of God directly with honour due to the emperor (*πάντας τιμήσατε, τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε, τὸν θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε*).[2] Nothing could be more loyal than this conception, and it is noticeable that the author was writing in Asia Minor among the provinces where the imperial cultus flourished.

Luke begins his account of Christ with the words (ii. 1): *ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐξῆλθεν δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην.* As has been correctly surmised, the allusion to the emperor Augustus is meant to be significant. It was the official and popular idea that with Augustus a new era dawned for the empire; the imperial throne

[1] Cp. Tit. iii. 1. With regard to Paul's language in Romans, one may recollect what a quiet and happy time the early years of Nero were.

[2] Greek Christians usually called the emperor *βασιλεύς* ("king"), a common title in the East, where it had not the same servile associations as "rex" had on the lips of people in the West. But *βασιλεύς* was also a title of the Lord Christ (*κύριος Χριστός*) which Christians dared not avoid uttering (not merely on account of "the kingdom of God," *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ*, but also because Jesus had called himself by this name: John xviii. 33 f.). This occasioned a painful struggle, though prudent Christians made strenuous efforts to repudiate the apparent treason which their religious usage of this title inevitably suggested, and to make it clear that by "kingdom" and "king" they understood nothing earthly or human, but something divine (so already Justin's *Apol.*, I. vi.). Some hotspurs, no doubt, declared to their judges that they recognized only *one* king or emperor (God or Christ), and thus drew upon themselves just punishment. But these cases were very rare. Christ was also called "imperator" in the West (cp. p. 317), but not in writings intended for publicity.

was its "peace," the emperor its saviour (σωτήρ). Behind the earthly saviour, Luke makes the heavenly appear—he, too, is bestowed upon the whole world, and what he brings is peace (ver. 14, ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη).[1] Luke hardly intended to set Augustus and Christ in hostile opposition; even Augustus and his kingdom are a sign of the new era. This may also be gathered from the Book of Acts, which in my opinion has not any consciously political aim; it sees in the Roman empire, as opposed to Judaism, the sphere marked out for the new religion, it stands entirely aloof from any hostility to the emperor, and it gladly lays stress upon the facts which prove a tolerant mood on the part of the authorities towards Christians in the past.

Justin (*Apol.*, I. xii.) writes to the emperor: ἀρωγοὶ ὑμῖν καὶ σύμμαχοι πρὸς εἰρήνην ἐσμὲν πάντων μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων ("We, more than any others, are your helpers and allies in promoting peace"), admitting thereby that the purpose of the empire was beneficial (*pax terrena*), and that the emperors desired to effect this purpose. And in describing Christians as the power[2] best

[1] Even the expression used in Eph. ii. 14, αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν ("he is our peace"), is modelled on the language applied to the emperor in Asia Minor. I have shown elsewhere how strongly this language has influenced the terminology of Luke in the above-mentioned passage of his gospel.

[2] Wherever mention is made of the power of the Christian people which upholds the state and frees humanity, it is always these two factors which are in view—their strict morality and their power over demons. Others also wield the former weapon, though not so well. But the second, the power over demons, pertains to Christians alone, and therefore they render an incomparable service to the state and to the human race, small though their numbers may be. From this conviction there grew up in Christianity the consciousness of being the power which conserves and emancipates mankind in this world.

adapted to secure this end—inasmuch as they shun all crime, live a strictly moral life, and teach a strict morality, besides scaring and exorcising those supreme enemies of mankind, the demons—he too, in a certain sense, lays down a positive relationship between the church and the state.

When the author of the epistle to Diognetus differentiates Christians from the world (the State) as the soul from the body (vi.) and elaborates his account of their relationship in a series of antitheses, he is laying down at the same time a positive relation between the two magnitudes in question: *ἐγκέκλεισται μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ σώματι, συνέχει δὲ αὐτὴ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κατέχονται μὲν ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ τῷ κόσμῳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνέχουσι τὸν κόσμον* ("The soul is shut up in the body and yet holds the body together; so Christians are kept within the world as in a prison, yet they hold the world together"). Similarly Justin (*Apol.*, II. vii.).

All this implies already a positive political standpoint,[1] but the furthest step in this direction was taken subsequently by Melito (in Eus., *H.E.*, iv. 26). It is no mere accident that he writes in loyal Asia

[1] I might also include here the remark of Athenagoras in his "Supplicatio" to the emperors (xviii.): *ἔχοιτε ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπουράνιον βασιλείαν ἐξετάζειν· ὡς γὰρ ὑμῖν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ πάντα κεχείρωται, ἄνωθεν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰληφόσι—βασιλέως γὰρ ψυχὴ ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ, φησὶ τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα—οὕτως ἐνὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγῳ υἱῷ νοουμένῳ ἀμερίστῳ πάντα ὑποτέτακται* ("May you be able to discover the heavenly kingdom by considering yourselves! For as all things are subject to you, father and son, who have received the kingdom from above—since the king's soul is in the hand of God, saith the Spirit of prophecy,—so are all things subordinate to the one God and to the Logos proceeding from him, even the Son who is not apprehended apart from him").

Minor. By noting Luke's suggestion with regard to Augustus, as well as all that had been already said elsewhere upon the positive relations subsisting between the church and the world-empire, Melito advanced to the following statement of the situation in his *Apology* to Marcus Aurelius :—

"This philosophy of ours certainly did flourish at first among a barbarian people. But springing up in the provinces under thy rule during the great reign of thy predecessor Augustus, it brought rich blessings to thine empire in particular. For ever since then the power of Rome has increased in size and splendour; to this hast thou succeeded as its desired possessor, and as such shalt thou continue with thy son if thou wilt protect the philosophy which rose under Augustus and has risen with the empire, a philosophy which thine ancestors also held in honour along with other religions. The most convincing proof that the flourishing of our religion has been a boon to the empire thus happily inaugurated, is this—that the empire has suffered no mishap since the reign of Augustus, but, on the contrary, everything has increased its splendour and fame, in accordance with the general prayer."

Melito's ideas[1] need no analysis; they are plainly and clearly stated. The world-empire and the Christian religion are foster-sisters; they form a

[1] Tertullian's opinion was different. He knew of no solidarity of Christianity and the empire: "Sed et Cæsares credidissent super Christo, si aut Caesares non essent necessarii saeculo, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Caesares" (*Apol.* xxi.: "Yes, the very Cæsars would have believed on Christ, if Cæsars had not been necessary to the world, or if they could have been Cæsars and Christians as well").

pair; they constitute a new level of human history; the Christian religion means blessing and welfare to the empire, towards which it stands as the inward to the outward. Only when Christianity is protected and permitted to develop itself freely, does the empire continue to preserve its size and splendour. Unless one is to suppose that Melito simply wanted to flatter —a supposition for which there is no ground, although there was flattery in what he said—the inference is that in the Christianity which formed part of the world-empire he really recognized a co-ordinate and sustaining inward force. Subsequent developments justified this view of Melito, and in this light his political insight is marvellous. But still more marvellous is the fact that at a time like this, when Christians were still a feeble folk, he actually recognized in Christianity the one magnitude parallel to the State, and that simply on the ground of religion—*i.e.*, as being a spiritual force which was entrusted with the function of supporting the State.[1]

There is yet another early Christian writer on whom the analogy of Christendom and the world-empire dawned (*à propos* of its œcumenical range); only, he attempted to explain it in a very surprising fashion, which betrayed a deep hostility towards the empire.

[1] Cp. also Orig., *c. Cels.*, VIII. lxx.: ἀλλ' οἱ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν Κέλσου πάντες ἂν πεισθέντες Ῥωμαῖοι εὐχόμενοι περιέσονται τῶν πολεμίων ἢ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν πολεμήσονται, φρουρούμενοι ὑπὸ θείας δυνάμεως, τῆς διὰ πεντήκοντα δικαίους πέντε πόλεις ὅλας ἐπαγγειλαμένης διασῶσαι ("According to the notion of Celsus, if all the Romans are brought to believe, they will either overcome their foes by praying, or refrain from fighting altogether, being guarded by that power divine which promised to save five entire cities for the sake of fifty just persons").

Hippolytus writes (*in Dan.*, iv. 9): "For as our Lord was born in the forty-second year of the emperor Augustus, whence the Roman empire developed, and as the Lord also called all nations and tongues by means of the apostles and fashioned believing Christians into a *people*, the people of the Lord, and the people which consists of those who bear a new name—so was all this imitated to the letter by the empire of that day, ruling 'according to the working of Satan'; for it also collected to itself the noblest of every nation, and, dubbing them Romans, got ready for the fray. And that is the reason why the first census took place under Augustus, when our Lord was born at Bethlehem; it was to get the men of this world, who enrolled for our earthly king, called Romans, while those who believed in a heavenly king were termed Christians, bearing on their foreheads the sign of victory over death."

The œcumenical range of the Roman empire is, therefore, a Satanic aping of Christianity. As the demons purloined Christian philosophy and aped the Christian cultus and sacraments, so also did they perpetrate a plagiarism against the church by founding the great imperial state of Rome! This is the self-consciousness of Christendom expressed in perhaps the most robust, as also in the most audacious form imaginable! The real cosmopolitan character of Christianity is stated by Octavius (*Min. Felix*, xxxiii.) thus:—"Nos gentes nationesque distinguimus: deo una domus est mundus hic totus" ("We draw distinctions between nations and races, but to God the whole of this world is one household").

Origen's political views are more accurate, but how ambitious are his ideas! In chapters lxvii.–lxxv. of his eighth book against Celsus, by dint of a fresh interpretation given to a primitive Christian conception, and by recourse to a Platonic idea, he propounds this view, that the church, this *κόσμος τοῦ κόσμου* (*in Joh.*, vi. 38), or universe of the universe, is the future kingdom of the whole world, destined to embrace the Roman empire and humanity itself, to amalgamate and to replace the various realms of this world. Cp. ch. lxviii.:—"For if, in the words of Celsus, all were to do as we do, then there is no doubt whatever that even the barbarians would become law-abiding and humane, so soon as they obeyed the Word of God; then would all religions vanish, leaving that of Christ alone to reign. And reign it will one day, as the Word never ceases to gain soul after soul." This means the reversal of the primitive Christian hope. The church now presents itself as the civilizing and cohesive power which is to create, even in the present age, a State that shall embrace an undivided humanity. Origen, of course, is not quite sure whether this is feasible in the present age. No further away than ch. lxxii., *à propos* of the question (to which Celsus gave a negative answer) whether Asia, Europe, and Libya, Greeks and barbarians alike, could agree to recognize one system of laws, we find him writing as follows: "Perhaps," he says, "such a result would not indeed be possible to those who are still in the body; but it would not be impossible to those who are released from the body" (*καὶ τάχα ἀληθῶς ἀδύνατον μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτο τοῖς ἔτι ἐν σώμασι, οὐ μὲν ἀδύνατον καὶ*

ἀπολυθεῖσιν αὐτῶν).[1] In II. xxx. he writes: "In the days of Jesus, righteousness arose and fulness of peace, beginning with his birth. God prepared the nations for his teaching, by causing the Roman emperor to rule over all the world; there was no longer to be a plurality of kingdoms, else would the nations have been strangers to one another, and so the apostles would have found it harder to carry out the task laid on them by Jesus, when he said, 'Go and teach all nations.'"

In his reply to Celsus (III. xxix.–xxx.), this great father of the church, who was at the same time a great and sensible statesman, submits a further political consideration, which is not ambitious this time, but sober. It has also the advantage of being impressive and to the point. Although the passage is somewhat lengthy, I quote it here, as there is nothing like it in the literature of early Christianity [Greek text in *Hist. Dogma*, ii. 126]:—

"Apollo, according to Celsus, required the Metapontines to consider Aristeas as a god. But the Metapontines considered Aristeas was a man, and perhaps not even a respectable man, and this conviction of theirs seemed to them more valid than the declaration of the oracle that Aristeas was a god and deserving of divine honour. Consequently they would not obey Apollo, and no one regarded Aristeas as a god. But with regard to Jesus, we may say that

[1] I do not understand, any more than Origen did, the political twaddle which Celsus (lxxi.) professes to have heard from a Christian. It can hardly have come from a Christian, and it is impossible nowadays to ascertain what lay at the bottom of it. I therefore pass it by.

it proved a blessing to the human race to acknowledge him as God's son, as God appearing in a human soul and body. . . . God, who sent Jesus, brought to nought all the conspiracies of the demons and gave success to the gospel of Jesus over the whole earth for the conversion and amelioration of mankind, causing churches everywhere to be established, which should be ruled by other laws than those of superstitious, licentious, and evil men. For such is the character of the masses who constitute the assemblies throughout the various towns. Whereas, the churches or assemblies of God, whom Christ instructs, are 'lights in the world,' compared to the assemblies of the districts among which they live as strangers. For who would not allow that even the inferior members of the church, and such as take a lower place when judged by the standard of more eminent Christians—even these are far better people than the members of profane assemblies?

"Take the church of God at Athens; it is a peaceable and orderly body, as it desires to please God, who is over all. Whereas the assembly of the Athenians is refractory, nor can it be compared in any respect to the local church or assembly of God. The same may be said of the church of God at Corinth and the local assembly of the people, as also of the church of God at Alexandria and the local assembly in that city. And if any candid person hears this and examines the facts of the case with a sincere love for the truth, he will admire him who conceived the design and was able to realize it, establishing churches of God to exist as strangers amid the popular assemblies of the various cities. Furthermore, if

one compares the council of the church of God with that of the cities, one by one, it would be found that many a councillor of the church is worthy to be a leader in God's city, if such a city exists in the world; whereas other councillors in all parts of the world show not a trait of conduct to justify the superiority born of their position, which seems to give them precedence over their fellow-citizens. Such also is the result of any comparison between the president of the church in any city and the civic magistrates. It will be found that, in the matter of conduct, even such councillors and presidents of the church as are extremely defective and indolent compared to their more energetic colleagues, are possessed of virtues which are in general superior to those of civic councillors and rulers."

At this point I shall break off the present part of our investigation. The evidence already brought forward will suffice to give some idea of how Christians held themselves to be the new People and the third race of mankind, and also of the inferences which they drew from these conceptions. But how did the Greeks and Romans regard this phenomenon of Christianity with its enormous claims? This is a question to which justice must be done in an excursus.

EXCURSUS.

CHRISTIANS AS A THIRD RACE, IN THE JUDGMENT OF THEIR OPPONENTS.

In order adequately to appreciate the Greek and Roman estimate of Christianity, it is essential, in the first instance, to recollect how the Jews were regarded and estimated throughout the empire, since it was generally known that the Christians had emanated from the Jews.

Nothing is more certain than that the Jews were distinguished throughout the Roman empire as a special people, in contrast to all others. Their imageless worship (ἀθεότης), their stubborn refusal to participate in other cults, together with their exclusiveness (ἀμιξία), marked them off from all nations as a unique people.[1] This uniqueness was publicly

[1] There were also their special customs (circumcision, prohibition of swine's flesh, the sabbath, etc.), but these did not contribute so seriously as ἀθεότης and ἀμιξία to establish the character of the Jews for uniqueness; for customs either identical or somewhat similar were found among other Oriental peoples as well. For ἀθεότης see Pliny, *hist. nat.*, xiii. 4. 46: "gens contumelia numinum insignis" ("a race distinguished by its contempt for deities"); Tacit., *hist.*, v. 5: "Judaei mente sola unumque numen intellegunt . . . . igitur nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sistunt: non regibus haec adulatio non Caesaribus honor" ("The Jews conceive of their deity as one, by the mind alone . . . . hence there are no images erected in their cities or even in their temples. This reverence is

acknowledged by the legislation of Cæsar. Except for a brief period, the Jews were certainly never expected to worship the emperor. Thus they stood alone by themselves amid all the other races who were included in, or allied to, the Roman empire. The blunt formula, "We are Jews," never occurs in the Greek and Roman literature, so far as I know; but the fact was there, *i.e.*, the view was widely current that the Jews were a national phenomenon by themselves, deficient in these traits which were common to the other nations.[1] Furthermore, in every province and town the Jews, and the Jews alone, kept themselves aloof from the neighbouring population by means of their constitutional position and civic demeanour. Only, this very uniqueness of character was taken to be a defect in public spirit and patriotism, as well as an insult and a disgrace, from Apollonius Molon and Posidonius down to Pliny, Tacitus, and later authors,[2]

not paid to kings, nor this honour to the Cæsars"), Juv., *Satir.*, xiv. 97: "nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant" ("they venerate simply the clouds and the deity of the sky"), etc. For *μισανθρωπία* and *ἀμιξία*, see Tacit. (*loc. cit.*): "Apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium" ("Among themselves their honesty is inflexible, their compassion quick to move, but to all other persons they show the hatred of antagonism"); and earlier still, Apollonius Molon (in Joseph., *Apion.*, ii. 14). Cp. Schürer's *Gesch. des jüd. Volks.*, III.[3], p. 418 [Eng. trans., II. ii. 295].

[1] In Egypt a clear-cut triple division obtained—Egyptians, Greeks, and Jews. Cp. Schürer, III.[3], p. 23 [Eng. trans., II. ii. 231].

[2] Apollonius Molon in Joseph., *Apion.*, II. 15. "The most stupid of the barbarians, *ἄθεοι, μισάνθρωποι*"; Seneca (in August., *de civit.*, vi. 11), "sceleratissima gens"; Tacitus (*hist.*, v. 8), "despectissima pars servientium—taeterrima gens"; Pliny (*loc. cit.*), Marcus Aurelius (in *Ammian*, xxii. 5), and Caecilius (in *Min. Felix*, x.), "Judaeorum misera gentilitas."

although one or two of the more intelligent writers did not miss the "philosophic" character of the Jews.[1]

Disengaging itself from this Jewish people, Christianity now encountered the Greeks and Romans. In the case of Christians, some of the sources of offence peculiar to the Jews were absent; but the greatest offence of all appeared only in heightened colours, viz., the ἀθεότης and the ἀμιξία (μισανθρωπία). Consequently the Christian religion was described as a "superstitio nova et malefica" (Suet., *Nero* 16), as a "superstitio prava, immodica" (Phin., *ep.* x. 96, 97), as an "exitiabilis superstitio" (Tacit., *Annal.*, xv. 44), and as a "vana et demens superstitio" (*Min. Felix* 9), while the Christians themselves were characterized as "per flagitia invisi," and blamed for their "odium generis humani."[2]

Several sensible people during the course of the second century certainly took a different view. Lucian saw in Christians half crazy, credulous fanatics, yet he could not altogether refuse them his respect. Galen explained their course of life as

[1] Aristotle (according to Clearchus): φιλόσοφοι παρὰ Σύροις, Theophrastus (according to Porphyry), ἅτε φιλόσοφοι τὸ γένος ὄντες, Strabo (xvi. 2. 35, pp. 760 f.), and Varro (in August., *de civit.*, iv. 31).

[2] Tacitus (*loc. cit.*); cp. Tertull., *Apol.* xxxv., "publici hostes"; xxxvii., "hostes maluistis vocare generis humani Christianos" (you prefer to call Christians the enemies of the human race); *Minut.* x., "pravae religionis obscuritas"; viii., "homines deploratae, inlicitae ac desperatae factionis" (reprobate characters, belonging to an unlawful and desperate faction); "plebs profanae coniurationis"; ix., "sacraria taeterrima impiae citionis" (abominable shrines of an impious assembly); "eruenda et execranda consensio" (a confederacy to be rooted out and detested).

philosophic, and spoke of them in terms of high esteem.[1] Porphyry also treated them, and especially their theologians, the gnostics and Origen, as respectable opponents.[2] But the vast majority of authors persisted in treating them as an utter abomination. "Latebrosa et lucifuga natio," cries the pagan Cæcilius (in *Minut. Felix*, viii. f.), "in publicum muta, in angulis garrula; templa ut busta despiciunt, deos despuunt, rident sacra . . . . occultis se notis et insignibus noscunt et amant mutuo paene antequam noverint . . . . cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota simulacra . . . . nisi illud quod colunt et interprimunt, aut puniendum est aut pudendum? unde autem vel quis ille aut ubi deus unicus, solitarius, destitutus, quem non gens libera, non regna, non saltem Romana superstitio noverunt? Judaeorum sola et misera

[1] The passage is extant only in the Arabic (see above, p. 266).

[2] Of the historical basis of the Christian religion and its sacred books in the New Testament, Porphyry and the Neoplatonists in general formed no more favourable opinion than did Celsus, while even in the Old Testament they found (agreeing thus far with the Christian gnostics) a great deal of folly and falsehood. The fact is, no one, not even Celsus, criticised the gospel history so keenly and depreciatingly as Porphyry. Still, much that was to be found in the books of Moses and in John appeared to them of value. Further, they had a great respect for the Christian philosophy of religion, and endeavoured in all seriousness to come to terms with it, recognizing that it approximated more nearly than that of the gnostics to their own position. The depreciatory estimate of the world and the dualism which they found in gnosticism seemed to them a frivolous attack upon the Godhead. *Per contra* Porphyry says of Origen:—"His outward conduct was that of a Christian and unlawful. *But he thought like a Greek in his views of matter and of God,* and mingled the ideas of the Greeks with foreign fables" (in Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 19). On Porphyry's attitude towards the gnosis of the church and gnosticism, cp. Karl Schmidt in *Texte u. Unters.*, N.F. v., part 4.

gentilitas unum et ipsi deum, sed palam, sed templis, aris, victimis caeremoniisque coluerunt, cuius adeo nulla vis ac potestas est, ut sit Romanis numinibus cum sua sibi natione captivus. At iam Christiani quanta monstra, quae portenta confingunt."[1] What people saw—what Cæcilius saw before him—was a descending series, with regard to the numina and cultus: first Romans, then Jews, then Christians.

So monstrous, so repugnant are those Christians (of whose faith and life Cæcilius proceeds to tell the worst possible tales), that they drop out of ordinary humanity, as it were. Thus Cæcilius indeed calls them a "natio," but he knows that they are recruited from the very dregs of the nations, and consequently are no "people" in the sense of a "nation." The Christian Octavius has to defend them against this charge of being a non-human phenomenon, and Tertullian goes into still further details in his *Apology* and in his address *ad nationes*. In both of these writings the leading idea is the refutation of the

[1] "A *people* who skulk and shun the light of day, silent in public but talkative in holes and corners. They despise the temples as dead-houses, they scorn the gods, they mock sacred things . . . they recognize each other by means of secret tokens and marks, and love each other almost before they are acquainted. Why have they no altars, no temples, no recognized images . . . . unless what they worship and conceal deserves punishment or is something to be ashamed of? Moreover, whence is he, who is he, where is he, that one God, solitary and forsaken, whom no free people, no realm, not even a Roman superstition, has ever known? The lonely and wretched race of the Jews worshipped one God by themselves, but they did it openly, with temples, altars, victims, and ceremonies, and he has so little strength and power that he and all his nation are in bondage to the deities of Rome! But these Christians! What marvels, what monsters, do they feign!"

charge brought against Christianity, of being something exceptional and utterly inhuman. "Alia nos opinor, natura, Cyropennæ [Cynopae?] aut Sciapodes," we read in *Apol.* viii., "alii ordines dentium, alii ad incestam libidinem nervi? . . . homo est enim et Christianus et quod et tu" ("We are of a different nature, I suppose! Are we Cyropennæ or Sciapodes? Have we different teeth, different organs for incestuous lust? . . . Nay, a Christian too is a man, he is whatever you are." And in *Apol.* xvi. Tertullian is obliged to refute wicked lies told about Christians which, if true, would make Christians out to be quite an exceptional class of human beings. Whereas, in reality, "Christiani homines sunt vobiscum degentes, eiusdem victus, habitus, instructus, eiusdem ad vitam necessitatis. neque enim Brachmanae aut Indorum gymnosophistae sumus, silvicolae et exules vitae . . . . si caeremonias tuas non frequento, attamen et illa die *homo* sum" (*Apol.* xlii.: "Christian men live beside you, share your food, your dress, your customs, the same necessities of life as you do. For we are neither Brahmins nor Indian gymnosophists, inhabiting the woods, and exiles from existence. If I do not attend your religious ceremonies, none the less am I a human being on the sacred day"). "Cum concutitur imperium, concussis etiam ceteris membris eius utique et nos, *licet extranei a turbis aestimemur*,[1] in aliquo

[1] Hence the request made to Christians is quite intelligible—"Begone from a world to which you do not belong, and trouble us not." Cp. the passage already cited from Justin's *Apol.*, II. iv., where Christians are told by their opponents, *πάντες ἑαυτοὺς φονεύσαντες πορεύεσθαι ἤδη παρὰ τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἡμῖν πράγματα μὴ παρέχετε.* Tertullian relates (*ad Scap.* v.) how Arrius Antoninus, the proconsul of Asia, called out to the Christians who crowded voluntarily to his

loco casus invenimur" (*Apol.* xxxi: "When the State is disturbed and all its other members affected by the

tribunal in a time of persecution, "You miserable wretches; if you want to die, you have precipices and ropes." Celsus (in Orig., *c. Cels.*, VIII. lv.) writes: "If Christians decline to render due honour to the gods or to respect those appointed to take charge of the religious services, let them not grow up to manhood or marry wives or have children or take any part in the affairs of this life, but rather be off with all speed, leaving no posterity behind them, that such a race may become utterly extinct on earth." Hatred of the empire and emperor, and uselessness from the economic standpoint—these were standing charges against Christians, charges which the apologists (especially Tertullian) were at great pains to controvert. Celsus tries to show Christians that they were really trying to cut off the branch on which they sat (VIII. lxviii.). "Were all to act as you do, the emperor would soon be left solitary and forlorn, and affairs would presently fall into the hands of the wildest and most lawless barbarians. Then it would be all over with the glory of your worship and the true wisdom among men." As the Christians were almost alone among religionists in being liable to this charge of enmity to the empire, they were held responsible by the populace, as everybody knows, for any great calamities that occurred. The passages in Tertullian bearing on this point are quite familiar; but one should also compare the parallel statements in Origen (*in Matt. comment ser.*, xxxix.). From this point of view also, Christians appear a special group by themselves. Maximinus Daza, in his rescript to Sabinus (Eus., *H.E.*, ix. 9) speaks of the ἔθνος τῶν Χριστιανῶν (the nation of the Christians), and the edict of Galerius reluctantly admits that Christians succeeded in combining the various nations into a relative unity by means of their commandments (Eus., *H.E.*, viii. 17. 7): τοσαύτη αὐτοὺς πλεονεξία παρεσχήκει καὶ ἄνοια κατειλήφει, ὡς μὴ ἕπεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι καταδειχθεῖσιν . . . . ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν πρόθεσιν καὶ ὡς ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο, οὕτως ἑαυτοῖς καὶ νόμους ποιῆσαι καὶ τούτους παραφυλάττειν καὶ ἐν διαφόροις διάφορα πλήθη συνάγειν ("Such arrogance had seized them and such senselessness had mastered them, that instead of following the institutions of their ancestors . . . . they framed laws for themselves according to their own purpose, as each desired, and observed these laws, and thus held various gatherings in various places").

disturbance, surely we also are to be found in some spot or another, *although we are supposed to live aloof from crowds.*" It is evident also from the nicknames and abusive epithets hurled at them, that Christians attracted people's attention as something entirely strange (cp., *e.g.*, *Apol.* l.).

In his two books *ad nationes*, no less than in the *Apology*, all these arguments also find contemporary expression. Only in the former *one* further consideration supervenes, which attracts our attention very specially, namely, the assertion of Tertullian that Christians were called "genus tertium" (the Third race) by their opponents. The relevant passages are as follows:—

Ad nat., I. viii.: "Plane, *tertium genus* dicimur. An Cyropennae aliqui vel Sciapodes vel aliqui de subterraneo Antipodes? Si qua istic apud vos saltem ratio est, edatis velim primum et secundum genus, ut ita de tertio constet. Psammetichus quidem putavit sibi se de ingenio exploravisse prima generis. dicitur enim infantes recenti e partu seorsum a commercio hominum alendos tradidisse nutrici, quam et ipsam propterea elinguaverat, ut in totum exules vocis humanae non auditu formarent loquellam, sed de suo promentes eam primam nationem designarent cuius sonum natura dictasset. Prima vox 'beccos' renuntiata est; interpretatio eius 'panis' apud Phrygas nomen est; Phryges primum genus exinde habentur . . . . sint nunc primi Phryges, non tamen tertii Christiani. Quantae enim aliae gentium series post Phrygas? verum recogitate, ne quos *tertium genus* dicitis principem locum obtineant, siquidem non ulla gens non Christiana. itaque quaecunque gens prima,

nihilominus Christiana. ridicula dementia novissimos diciti et *tertios* nominatis. *sed de superstitione tertium genus deputamur, non de natione, ut sint Romani, Judaei, dehinc Christiani.* ubi autem Graeci? vel si in Romanorum superstitionibus censentur, quoniam quidem etiam deos Graeciae Roma sollicitavit, ubi saltem Ægyptii, et ipsi, quod sciam, privatae curiosaeque religionis? *porro si tam monstruosi, qui tertii loci, quales habendi, qui primo et secundo antecedunt?*" ("We are indeed called the *third race* of men! Are we monsters, Cyropennæ, or Sciopades, or some Antipodeans from the underworld? If these have any meaning for you, pray explain the first and second of the races, that we may thus learn the 'third.' Psammetichus thought he had ingeniously hit upon primeval man. He removed, it is said, some newly-born infants from all human intercourse and entrusted their upbringing to a nurse whom he had deprived of her tongue, in order that being exiled entirely from the sound of the human voice, they might form their words without hearing it, and derive them from their own nature, thus indicating what was the first nation whose language was originally dictated by nature. The first word they uttered was 'beccos,' the Phrygian word for bread. The Phrygians, then, are held to be the first race. . . . If, then, the Phrygians are the first race, still it does not follow that the Christians are the third. For how many other races successively came after the Phrygians? But take heed lest those whom you call *the third race* take first place, since there is no nation which is not Christian. Whatever nation, therefore, is the first, is nevertheless Christian now. It is senseless absurdity

for you to call us the latest of nations and then to dub us the *Third*. *But*, you say, *it is on the score of religion and not of nationality that we are considered to be third; it is the Romans first, then the Jews, and after that the Christians.* What about the Greeks then? Or supposing that they are reckoned among the various Roman religions (since it was from Greece that Rome borrowed even her deities), where do the Egyptians at any rate come in, since they possess a religion which, so far as I know, is all their own, and full of secrecy? *Besides, if those who occupy the third rank are such monsters, what must we think of those who precede them in the first and second?*")

Further, in *ad nat.* I. xx. (after showing that the charges brought against Christians recoil upon their adversaries the heathen), Tertullian proceeds: "*Habetis et vos tertium genus etsi non de tertio ritu*, attamen de tertio sexu. Illud aptius de viro et femina viris et feminis iunctum" ("You too have your 'third race' [*i.e.*, of eunuchs], though it is not in the way of a third religion, but of a third sex. Made up of male and female in conjunction, it is better suited to pander to men and women!")

Add also a passage from the treatise *Scorpiace* (x.: a word to heretics who shunned martyrdom): "Illic constitues et synagogas Judaeorum fontes persecutionum, apud quas apostoli flagella perpessi sunt, et populos nationum cum suo quidem circo, *ubi facile conclamant*: '*Usque quo genus tertium?*'" ("Will you set up there [*i.e.*, in heaven] also synagogues of the Jews—which are fountains of persecution—before which the apostles suffered scourging, and heathen crowds with their circus, forsooth, where all are

ready to shout 'How long are we to endure this third race?'").

From these passages we infer:—

i. That "the third race" (*genus tertium*) as a designation of Christians on the lips of the heathen was perfectly common in Carthage about the year 200. Even in the circus people cried, "Usque quo genus tertium?"

ii. That this designation referred exclusively to the Christian method of conceiving and worshipping God. The Greeks, Romans, and all other nations, passed for the first race (*genus primum*), in so far as they mutually recognized each other's gods, or honoured foreign gods as well as their own, and had sacrifices and images. The Jews (with their national God, their exclusiveness, and a worship which lacked images but included sacrifice)[1] constituted the second race (*genus alterum*). The Christians again (with their spiritual God, their lack of images and sacrifices, and the contempt for the gods—*contemnere deos*—which they shared with the Jews[2]), formed the Third race (*genus tertium*).

iii. When Tertullian talks as if the whole system of classification could denote the chronological series of the nations, it is merely a bit of controversial dialectic. Nor has the designation of "the Third

[1] Cp. *ad nat.*, I. viii.

[2] Cp. what is roundly asserted in *ad nat.*, I. viii.: "It is on the score of *religion* and not of nationality that we are considered to be third; it is the Romans first, then the Jews, and after that the Christians." Also, I. xx.: "tertium genus [dicimur] de ritu" ("We are called a third race on the ground of religion"). It seems to me utterly impossible to suppose that Tertullian might have been mistaken in this interpretation of the title in question.

race" (*genus tertium*) anything whatever to do either with the virginity of Christians, or, on the other hand, with the sexual debaucheries set down to their credit.[1]

All these results[2] were of vital importance to the

[1] Passages may indeed be pointed out in which either virginity (or unsexual character) or unnatural lust is conceived as "genus tertium" (a third race), or as a race (*genus*) in general (Tertull., *de virg. vel.*, vii.: "Si caput mulieris vir est, ubique et virginis, de qua fit mulier illa quae nupsit, nisi si virgo *tertium genus* est monstrosum aliquod sui capitis" ("If the man is the head of the woman, he is also the head of the virgin, for out of a virgin comes the woman who marries; unless she is some monstrosity with a head of its own, *a third race*"). Cp. *op. cit.*, v., where the female sex is "genus secundi hominis," Pseudo-Cypr., *de pudic.*, vii.: "virginitas neutrius est sexus," and Clem. Alex., *Paedag.*, II. x. 85, *οὐδὲ γὰρ αἰδοῖα ἔχει ἡ ὕαινα ἅμα ἄμφω, ἄρρενος καὶ θήλεος, καθὼς ὑπείληφασί τινες, ἑρμαφροδίτους τερατολογοῦντες καὶ τρίτην ταύτην μεταξὺ θηλείας καὶ ἄρρενος ἀνδρόγυνον καινοτομοῦντες φύσιν* [a similar sexual analogy]. Cp., on the other hand, *op. cit.*, I. iv. 11, where there is a third condition common to both sexes, viz., that of being human beings and also children; also Lampridius, *Alex. Sever.*, xxiii.: "Idem tertium genus hominum eunuchos dicebat" ("he said eunuchs were a third race of mankind"). Obviously, however, such passages are irrelevant to the point now under discussion.

[2] It is remarkable that Tertullian is only aware of the title "tertium genus" as a pagan description of Christians, and not as one also applied by Christians to themselves. But despite his silence on the fact that Christians also designated their religion as "the third kind" of religion, we must nevertheless assume that the term rose as spontaneously to the lips of Christians as of their opponents, since it is unlikely, though not impossible, that the latter borrowed it from Christian literature. (Consequently Fronto, in his lost treatise against the Christians, must have made polemical use of the title "genus tertium" which he found in Christian writings, and by this means the term passed out into wider currency among the heathen. Yet in Minucius Felix it does not occur.) To recall the chronological succession of its occurrences once again: at the opening of the second century one

impression made by Christianity (and Judaism[1]) upon the pagan world. As early as the opening of the second century Christians designate their religion as "the third method" of religion (cp. the evidence above furnished by the Preaching of Peter), and frankly declare, about the year 240 A.D., "We are the third race of mankind" (cp. the evidence of the treatise *de pascha computus*).[2] Which proves that the pagans did borrow this conception, and that (even previously to 200 A.D.)[3] they described the Jews as the second and the Christians as the third race of men. This they did for the same reason as the Christians, on account of the nature of the religion in question.

Christian writer (the author of the Preaching of Peter) calls the Christian religion "the third kind" of religion; in the year 197, Tertullian declares "tertium genus *dicimur*" ("*we are called* the third race"); while in 242–243 A.D. a Roman or African Christian (pseudo-Cyprian) writes, "tertium genus *sumus*" ("*we are* the third race").

[1] I add, Judaism—for hitherto in our discussion we could not determine with absolute certainty whether any *formula* was current which distinguished the Jews from all other peoples with regard to their conception and worship of God. Now it is perfectly plain. The Jews ranked in this connection as an independent magnitude, a "genus alterum."

[2] It becomes obvious now, that we were right in conjecturing above that the Romans were to pseudo-Cyprian the first race, and the Jews the second, as opposed to the Third race.

[3] How long before, we do not know. By the end of the second century, at any rate, the title was quite common. It is, therefore, hardly possible to argue against the authenticity of Hadrian's epistle to Servianus (see above) on the ground that it contains this triple division: "hunc [nummum] *Christiani*, hunc Judaei, hunc omnes venerantur *et gentes*" ("this pelf is revered by the Christians, the Jews, and the nations"). But the description of Romans, Greeks, etc., as "gentes" is certainly very suspicious; it betrays, unless I am mistaken, the pen of a Christian writer.

It is indeed amazing! One had certainly no idea that in the consciousness of the Greeks and Romans the Jews stood out in such bold relief from the other nations, and the Christians from both, that they represented themselves as independent "genera," and were so described in an explicit formula. Neither Jews nor Christians could look for any ampler recognition,[1] little as the demarcation was intended as a recognition at all.

The polemical treatises against Christians prove that the triple formula, "Romans, etc., Jews, and Christians" was really never absent from the minds of their opponents. So far as we are acquainted with these treatises, they one and all adopt this scheme of thought: the Jews originally parted company with all other nations, and, after leaving the Egyptians, they formed an ill-favoured species by

[1] Thanks to Varro, who had a genius for classification, people had been accustomed among literary circles, in the first instance, to grade the gods and religions as well. Perhaps it was under the influence of his writings (and even Tertullian makes great play with them in his treatise *ad nationes*) that the distinction of Jews and Christians as "the second and third ways" obtained primarily among the learned, and thence made its way gradually into the minds of the common people. It is utterly improbable that this new classification was influenced by the entirely different distinction, current among the Egyptians (see above) of the three γένη (Egyptians, Greeks, and Jews). Once it was devised, the former conception must have gone on working with a logic of its own, setting Judaism and Christianity in a light which was certainly not intended at the outset. It developed the conception of three circles, of three possible religions! Strangely enough, Tertullian never mentions the "genus tertium" in his *Apology*, though it was contemporaneous with the *ad nationes*. Was it not of sufficient importance to him in encountering a Roman governor?

themselves, whilst it is from these very Jews that the Christians have now broken off, retaining all the worst features of Judaism and adding loathsome and repulsive elements of their own. Such was the line taken by Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian in their anti-Christian writings. Celsus speaks of the γένος of the Jews, and opposes both γένη in the sharpest manner to all other nations, in order to show that when Christians, as renegade Jews, distinguish themselves from this γένος—a γένος which is, at least, a people—they do so to their own loss. He characterizes Christians (VIII. ii.) as ἀποτειχίζοντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀπορρηγνύντες ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων ("people who separate themselves and break away from the rest of mankind"). For all that, everything in Christianity is simply plagiarized from a plagiarism, or copied from a copy. Christians *per se* have no new teaching (μάθημα, I. iv.; cp. II. v. and IV. xiv.). That they have any teaching at all to present, is simply due to the fact that they have kept back the worst thing of all, viz., their στασιάζειν πρὸς τὸ κοινόν ("their revolt against the common weal").[1] Porphyry—who, I imagine, is the anti-Christian controversialist before the mind of Eusebius[2] in his *Preparatio*, i. 2, begins by treating Christians as a sheer impossibility, inasmuch as they will not and do not belong to the Greeks or to the barbarians. Then he goes on to say: καὶ μηδ' αὐτῷ τῷ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τιμουμένῳ θεῷ κατὰ τὰ

[1] The τρίτον γένος which Celsus mentions rather obscurely in V. lxi. has nothing to do with the third race which is our present topic. It refers to distinctions within Christianity itself.

[2] Cp. von Willamowitz-Moellendorf in the *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, i. 2, pp. 101 f.

παρ' αὐτοῖς προσανέχειν νόμιμα, καινὴν δὲ τινα καὶ ἐρήμην ἀνοδίαν ἑαυτοῖς συντεμενῖ μήτε τὰ Ἑλλήνων μήτε τὰ Ἰουδαίων φυλάττουσαν ("Nor do they adhere to the rites of the God worshipped by the Jews according to their customs, but fashion some new and solitary vagary for themselves of which there is no trace in Hellenism or Judaism"). So that he also gives the triple classification. Finally, Julian (Neumann, p. 164) likewise follows the division of Ἕλληνες, Ἰουδαῖοι, and Γαλιλαῖοι. The Galileans are neither Greeks nor Jews; they have come from the Jews, but have separated from them and struck out a path of their own. "They have repudiated every noble and significant idea current among us Greeks, and among the Hebrews who are descended from Moses, and yet they have lifted from both sources everything that attached itself to these nations, like an ill-omened demon, taking their godlessness from the levity of the Jews, and their careless and lax way of living from our own thoughtlessness and vulgarity."

Plainly, then, Greeks and Jews and Christians were distinguished throughout upon the ground of religion, although the explicit formula of "the third race" occurs only in the West. After the middle of the third century both empire and emperor learnt to recognize and dread the third race of worshippers as a "nation," as well as a race. They were a state within the state. The most instructive piece of evidence in this connection is the account of Decius given by Cyprian (*ep.* lv. 9): "Multo patientius et tolerabilius audivit levari adversus se aemulum principem quam constitui Romae dei sacerdotem" ("He would hear of a rival prince being set up against

himself with far more patience and equanimity than of a priest of God being appointed at Rome"). The terrible edict issued by this emperor for the persecution of Christians is in the first instance the practical answer given by the state to the claims of the "New People" and to the political view advocated by Melito and Origen. The inner force of the new religion comes out in its self-chosen title of "the New People" or "the Third race" just as plainly as in the testimony extorted from its opponents, that in Christianity a new *genus* of religion actually emerged side by side with the religions of the nations and of Judaism. It does not afford much direct evidence upon the outward spread and strength of Christianity, for the former estimate emerged, asserted itself, and was recognized at an early period, when Christians were still, in point of numbers, a comparatively small society.[1] But it must have been of the highest importance for the propaganda of the Christian religion, to be so distinctly differentiated from all other religions and to get so lofty a consciousness of its own position put before the world.[2] Naturally this had a repelling influence as well on certain circles. Still, it was a token of power, and power never fails to be effective.

[1] They could not have been utterly insignificant, however; otherwise this estimate would be incredible. In point of numbers they must have already rivalled the Jews at least.

[2] Judaism already owed no small amount of her propaganda to her apologetic and, within her apologetic, to the valuation of herself which it developed. Cp. Schürer, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel,* III.[(3)], pp. 107 f. [Eng. trans., II. iii. 249 f.].

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIGION OF A BOOK AND OF A HISTORY REALIZED.

CHRISTIANITY, unlike Islam, never was and never came to be the religion of a book in the strict sense of the term (not until a much later period, that of rigid Calvinism, did the consequences of its formation as the religion of a book become really dangerous, and even then the rule of faith remained at the helm). Still the book of Christianity—*i.e.*, in the first instance, the Old Testament—did exert an influence which brought it to the verge of becoming the religion of a book. Paul, of course, when we read him aright, was opposed to this development, and wide circles throughout Christendom—both the gnostics and the Marcionites—even went the length of entirely repudiating the Old Testament or of ascribing it to another god altogether, though he too was righteous and dependent on the most high God.[1] But in the catholic church this gnostic criticism was indignantly rejected, whilst the complicated position adopted by the apostle Paul towards the book was not understood at all. The Old Testament, interpreted allegorically, continued to be *the sacred* book for these

[1] Cp., for example, the letter of Ptolemaeus to Flora, with my study of it in the *Sitzungsberichte d. K. Pr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, May 15, 1902.

Christians, as it was for the Jews from whom they aimed to wrest it.

This attitude to the Old Testament is quite intelligible. What other religious society could produce a book like it? How overpowering and lasting must have been the impression made by it on the Greeks, educated and uneducated alike, when they learnt to understand it! Many details might be strange or obnoxious, but the instruction and inspiration of its pages amply made up for that. Its great antiquity—stretching in some parts, as men held, to thousands of years[1]—was already conclusive by itself for its imperishable value, and its contents seemed in part a world of mysteries and in part a compendium of the profoundest wisdom. By its inexhaustible wealth of contents, by its variety, comprehensiveness, and extensive character, it seemed like a literary cosmos, a second creation which was the twin of the first. This indeed was the deepest impression which it made. The opinion most widely shared by the Greeks who came in contact with the Old Testament was that this was a book which was to be coupled with the universe, and that a similar verdict could be passed upon both of them. Variously as they might still interpret it, the fact of its being a parallel creation to the world, equally great and equally comprehensive, and of both magnitudes issuing from a single author, appeared indubitable even to the gnostics and the Marcionites, whilst the members of the catholic church recognized

[1] In his treatise *de pallio* Tertullian exclaims triumphantly, "Your history only reaches back to the Assyrians; we are in possession of the history of the whole world."

in this divine author the most high God himself. In the entire history of human thought, when had any other book such an opinion ever pronounced upon its pages?

The Old Testament certainly was a mighty help to the Christian propaganda, and it was in vain that the Jews protested. We have also one positive testimony, in the following passage from Tatian (*Orat.* xxix.), that for many people the Old Testament formed the real bridge by which they crossed to Christianity. "When I was paying earnest heed to what was profitable," he writes, "some barbarian writings came into my hands which were too old for Greek ideas and too divine for Greek errors. *These I was led to trust*, owing to their very simplicity of expression, and the unstudied character of their authors, owing to their intelligible description of creation, their foreknowledge of the future, the excellence of their precepts, and the fact of their embracing the universe under the sole rule of God. Thus was my soul instructed by God, and I understood how other teachings lead to condemnation, whilst these writings abolish the bondage that prevails throughout the world and free us from a plurality of rulers and tyrants innumerable. They furnish us, not with something which we had not already received, but with something which had been received but which, thanks to error, had been lost."[1]

This confession is particularly noticeable, not merely

[1] Cp. also Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, vii f.: Ἐγένοντό τινες πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου πάντων τούτων τῶν νομιζομένων φιλοσόφων παλαιότεροι, μακάριοι καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ θεοφιλεῖς, θείῳ πνεύματι λαλήσαντες καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα θεσπίσαντες, ἃ δὴ νῦν γίνεται· προφήτας δὲ αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν· οὗτοι μόνοι τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἐξεῖπον ἀνθρώποις, μήτ' εὐλαβηθέντες μήτε δυσωπηθέντες τινά . . . . ἀλλὰ μόνα ταῦτα εἰπόντες ἃ ἤκουσαν καὶ ἃ

on account of the explicit manner in which it brings out the significance of the Old Testament for the transition to Christianity, but also for its complete and clear statement of the reasons for this influence. In the first place, the *form* of this book made a deep impression, and it is characteristic of Tatian the Greek, though he would remain a Greek no longer, that its form is the first point which he singles out. The vigorous style of the prophets and psalmists captivated the man who had passed through the schools of rhetoric and philosophy. Vigour coupled with simplicity—this was what made the book seem to him so utterly different from those treatises and unwieldy tomes in which their authors made painful exertions to attain clearness of thought upon questions of supreme moment. The second item mentioned by the apologist is the narrative of creation in Genesis. This also is significant and quite intelligible. Every Greek philosopher had his cosmology, and here was a narrative of creation that was both lucid and comprehensible. It did not look like a philosophy, nor did it look like an ordinary myth; it

εἶδον ἁγίῳ πληρωθέντες πνεύματι· συγγράμματα δὲ αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει, κ.τ.λ. . . . . Ἐμοῦ δὲ παραχρῆμα πῦρ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀνήφθη καὶ ἔρως εἶχε με τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων, οἵ εἰσι Χριστοῦ φίλοι ("Long ago there were certain men, more ancient than all those who are esteemed philosophers, men blessed and righteous and beloved of God, who spoke by the spirit of God, and foretold what would come to pass, even what is now coming to pass. Their name is that of prophets. They alone saw the truth and proclaimed it to men, neither reverencing nor dreading any man . . . . but only saying what they saw and heard, being filled with the holy spirit. Writings of theirs are still extant. . . . A fire was at once kindled in my soul, and I was seized with a passion for the prophets and for those who are the friends of Christ").

was an entirely new *genre*, something between and above them both. It can only have been inspired by God himself! The third feature which struck Tatian was the prophecies of the book. A glance at the early Christian writers, and especially at the apologists, reveals the prominent and, in fact, commanding rôle played by the argument from prophecy, and this argument could only be led by means of the Old Testament. The fourth item was the moral code. Here Tatian was certainly thinking primarily of the decalogue, which even in the eyes of the gnostics, with their critical attitude towards the book as a whole, seemed merely to need completion, and was therefore distinguished by them from the other contents of the Old Testament.[1] To Gentile Christians the decalogue invariably meant the sum of morals, which only the sayings of the Sermon on the Mount could render more profound.[2] Finally, the fifth item mentioned by the apologist is the rigid monotheism which stamps the whole volume.

This list really includes all the elements in the Old Testament which seemed of special weight and marked its origin as divine. And if one surveys the services rendered by it to the Christian church throughout the first two centuries, the following points stand out clearly.

1. Christians borrowed from the Old Testament its monotheistic cosmology and view of nature. Though the gospels and epistles presuppose this, they do not expressly state it, and in the Old Testament books people found exactly what they required, viz.,

[1] Cp. the epistle of Ptolemaeus to Flora.

[2] Cp. the Didachê.

in the first place, innumerable passages proclaiming and inculcating monotheism, and also challenging polytheism, and in the second place many passages which extolled God as the creator of heaven and earth and depicted his creation.

2. From the Old Testament it could be proved that the appearance and the entire history of Jesus had been previously predicted hundreds and even thousands of years ago; and further, that the founding of the New People which was to be fashioned out of all nations upon earth, had from the very beginning been prophesied and prepared for (cp. pp. 300 f.).[1]

[1] To cite but a single passage, compare the preaching of Peter (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, VI. xv.): Ἡμεῖς ἀναπτύξαντες τὰς βίβλους ἃς εἴχομεν τῶν προφητῶν, ἃ μὲν διὰ παραβολῶν, ἃ δὲ δι' αἰνιγμάτων, ἃ δὲ αὐθεντικῶς καὶ αὐτολεξεὶ τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ὀνομαζόντων, εὕρομεν καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς κολάσεις πάσας, ὅσας ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸς ἀνάληψιν πρὸ τοῦ Ἱεροσόλυμα κριθῆναι, καθὼς ἐγέγραπτο ταῦτα πάντα ἃ ἔδει αὐτὸν παθεῖν καὶ γεγραμμένων εἰς αὐτόν ("Unrolling the books of the prophets in our possession, which name Christ Jesus partly in parables, partly in enigmas, and partly in plain expressions and in so many words, we find his advent, death, cross, and the other punishments inflicted on him by the Jews, his resurrection and his ascension into heaven, previous to the fall of Jerusalem, even as it is written—'All these things which he had to suffer, and which shall be after him.' Learning all this, we believed in God by means of what had been written about him"). This writer also explains then that on the ground of the Old Testament he came to believe in God the Father of Jesus Christ. Tertull., *Apol.* xlvi.: "Ostendimus totum statum nostrum, et quibus modis probare possimus ita esse sicut ostendimus, *ex fide scilicet et antiquitate divinarum litterarum*, item ex confessione spiritualium potestatum" [*i.e.*, the testimony which the demons exorcised by us are forced to bear] ("We have stated all our case, and also shown you how we are able to prove it, viz., *from the trustworthy character and great age of our sacred writings*, and likewise from the confession of the powers of spiritual evil").

Their own religion appeared, on the basis of this book, to be the religion of a history which was the fulfilment of prophecy; what remained still in the future could be merely a brief space of time, and even in its course everything would be fulfilled in accordance with what had been prophesied. The certain guarantee for this was afforded by what had already been fulfilled. By aid of the Old Testament, Christian teachers dated back their religion to the very beginning of things, and connected it with the creation. This formed one of the most impressive articles of the mission-preaching among educated people, and thereby Christianity got a hold which was possessed by no religion except Judaism. But one must take good care not to imagine that to the minds of these Christians the Old Testament was pure prophecy which still lacked its fulfilment. The Old Testament was indeed a book of prophecies, but for that very reason it had didactic significance as the *complete* revelation of God, which needed no manner of addition whatsoever, and excluded any subsequent modification. The historical fulfilment of these revelations merely attested their truth in the eyes of all the world. And indeed the whole gospel was thus put together from the Old Testament. Handbooks of this kind must have been widely circulated in different though similar editions.

3. Proofs from the Old Testament were increasingly employed to verify principles and organizations adopted by the Christian church (not merely imageless, spiritual worship, the abolition of the ceremonial law and its precepts, with baptism and the Lord's supper, but also—though hesitatingly—the Christian

priesthood, the episcopate, and the new organizations within the cultus).

4. The book was used for the purpose of exhortation, following the formula of "a minori ad maius." If God had praised or punished this or that in the past, how much more, it was argued, are we to look for similar treatment from him, we who are now living in the last days and who have received "the calling of promise."

5. From the Old Testament (*i.e.*, from its prophetic denunciations) Christians proved that the Jewish people had no covenant with God (cp. pp. 75 f.).

6. Christians edified themselves by means of the Old Testament and its sayings upon trust in God, upon God's aid, upon humility, and upon holy courage, as well as by means of its heroic spirits and its prophets.

What has been recapitulated in these paragraphs is sufficient to indicate the importance of the Old Testament for primitive Christianity upon its mission.[1]

[1] No thorough statement of the significance and employment of the Old Testament in the early church is available even at this time of day. In his *Untersuchungen zum ersten Clemensbrief* (1891), Wrede, however, has shown how such an essay should be planned and executed. His summary there (p. 75) agrees with what I have stated above. "Clement's use of Scripture," he writes, "rests wholly on the presupposition common to all Christians, that the Old Testament is the *one* holy book given by God to Christians, and to Christians directly and expressly; its words can lay claim to absolute authority, and they furnish the primary and most important basis of all Christian παράδοσις (tradition). Historically it would be a totally inadequate account of the real facts of the case, to declare that the Old Testament in whole or part still retained its value for Christians, as though the recognition of this was the result of some kind of reflection, whereas the possession

After the rise of the New Testament, certain aspects of the Old Testament fell into the background. Still these were not many, since obviously there were vital points at which the former could not undertake to render the service done by the latter. No doubt any statement of Christian morality always depended on the words of Jesus as its primary source, and in this light the Old Testament had to give place. But elsewhere the latter held its own. It was only in theory, and not in practice, that an imperceptible revolution occurred. The conflict with gnosticism and the formation of the New Testament which arose in and with that conflict, made it plain to the theologians of the catholic church that the simple identification of the Old Testament and the gospel was by no means a matter of course. The first theologians of the ancient catholic church, Irenæus and Tertullian, already dissolve this absolute identification; they rather approximate to the conception of the apostle Paul, viz., that the Old Testament and the old covenant mark quite a different level from that of the New. The higher level of the new covenant is recognized,

of this wonderful infallible volume was really in the eyes of Christians one of the most convincing and attractive features of the new religion. We simply cannot possess our minds too fully of the view that in those days there was not the slightest presentiment of a second sacred scripture ever rising one day to rank with the Old Testament, much less to round off the earlier book." In worship, readings were regularly given from the Old Testament, and an acquaintance with it was certainly brought about by means of brief selections and writings like the *Testimonia* of Cyprian. Private reading of the Bible is presupposed in many passages of Tertullian; cp. also pseudo-Clem., *de virgin.*, I. x., where the allusion is to the reading of the Bible at small devotional gatherings in houses.

and therewith the higher level of the New Testament as well. Now in theory this led to many results of no small moment, for people learned to assign a higher value to the specific significance of the Christian religion when it was set in contrast to the Old Testament—a point on which the gnostics had insisted with great energy. But in practice this change of estimate did not seriously affect the use of the Old Testament. If one could now hold theoretically that much of the Old Testament was "demutatum, suppletum, impletum, perfectum," and even "expunctum" by the New Testament (Tert., *de orat.* i.), the third century saw yet further steps taken, when the Old Testament was allegorized and in allegorical form employed as direct evidence for the truths of Christianity. Indeed, people really ceased to allegorize it. As the churches became stocked with every kind of sacred ceremony, and as they carefully developed priestly, sacrificial, and sacramental ideas, people now began to grow careless and reckless in applying the *letter* of Old Testament ceremonial laws to the arrangements of Christian organization and worship. In setting itself up as a legislative body, the church had recourse to the Old Testament in a way that Paul had severely censured; it fell back on the Law, though all the while it blamed the Jews and declared that their observance of the Law was quite illicit. In dogma there was now greater freedom from the Old Testament than obtained during the second century; Christological problems occupied the foreground, and theological interests shifted from problems of θεός and λόγος to those of the Trinity and of Christology, as well as to

Christocentric mysteries. In the practice of the church, again, people employed the Old Testament with greater freedom than their predecessors, in order to get a basis for usages which they considered indispensable. For a purpose of this kind the New Testament was of little use.

The New Testament as a whole did not generally play the same rôle as the Old Testament in the mission and practice of the church. The gospels certainly ranked on a level with the Old Testament and actually eclipsed it; through them the words of Jesus gleamed and sparkled, and in them his death and resurrection were depicted. But the epistles never enjoyed the same importance. Augustine was the first to bring the Pauline gospel into prominence throughout the West, while in the East it never emerged at all from the shadow.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONFLICT WITH POLYTHEISM AND IDOLATRY.

1. In combating "demons" (pp. 152–180) and in taking the field against the open immorality which was part and parcel of polytheism (pp. 259 f.), the early church was waging war against polytheism. But it did not rest content with this onset. Directly, no doubt, the "dumb idols" were weakened by this attack; still, they continued to be a real power, particularly in the circles from which the majority of Christians were drawn. Nowadays, the polemic against the gods of Olympus, against Egyptian cats and crocodiles, and against carved and cast and chiselled idols, seems to our eyes to have been cheap and superfluous. It was not a difficult task, we may fairly add; philosophers like the Cynics and satirists like Lucian supplied a wealth of material, and the intellect and moral sense alike had long ago outgrown that sort of deity. But it was in no sense superfluous. Had it been unnecessary, the apologists from Aristides to Arnobius would never have gone into this line of controversy in such detail, the martyr Apollonius would never have troubled to deliver his long polemic before the senate, and Tertullian, an expert in heathen laws and customs, would never

have deemed it necessary to give so elaborate a refutation in his defence delivered before the presiding magistrate. Yet even from this last-named refutation we see how degraded (we might almost say, how shabby) the public system of gods and sacrifices had already become. It was scoffed at on the stage; half-dead animals of no value were offered in sacrifice; the idols were dishonoured, the temples were profaned.[1] The whole business lay under a mass of disgust, disdain, derision, and nausea. But it would be a serious mistake to suppose that this feeling was universal. Not merely was everything kept going officially, but many minds still clung to such arrangements and ceremonies. The old cults were freshened by the influx of the new religions, and a new significance was often lent even to their most backward elements. Besides, whether the public system of religion was flourishing or entirely withered, it by no means represented the sole existing authority. In every town and province, at Rome as well as at Alexandria, in Spain, in Asia, in Egypt, there were household gods and family gods, with household customs of religion, and all manner of superstitions and ceremonies. These rarely rise above the surface of literature, but inscriptions, tombs, and magical papyri bring them nearer our reach. Here every household function has its guardian spirit, while all that occurs is under one controlling God. And this religious world, this second-class

[1] Tert., *Apol.* xlii.: "Every day, you complain, the temple-receipts are dwindling away. How few people nowadays put in their contributions!" Cp. Arnobius, I. xxiv.

religion, it must be remembered, was living and active on all sides.

As a rule the apologists contented themselves with assailing the official world of gods.[1] Their method aimed, in the first place, at rousing the moral sense against these so-called "gods" by branding their abominable vices; in the second place, it sought to exhibit the folly and absurdity of what was taught or told about the gods; and, thirdly, it aimed at exposing the origin of the latter. Following the track of Euhemerus, they showed that the so-called gods were nothing but human beings, or else they pointed out that the whole thing was a compound of vain fables and deceit, and very often the product of covetous priestcraft. In so doing they displayed both wit and irony, and also a very strong feeling of aversion. We do not know, of course, how much of all this argument and feeling was original. As has been already remarked, the Cynic philosopher had preceded Christianity along this line, and satires upon the gods were as cheap as blackberries in that age. Consequently it is needless to illustrate this point by the citation of individual passages. A perusal of the *Apology* of Aristides, which is of no great size, is quite sufficient to give one an idea of this kind of polemic;

[1] Household superstitions perhaps seemed to them too unimportant, or else they counted upon these being dragged down of their own accord in the collapse of the public superstitions. On this point they certainly made a miscalculation.—A scene at Ephesus is related in Acts, which may be brought into our discussion at this point. Thanks to Paul's preaching, the converts were moved to bring out the books of magic which they had at home and to burn them (Acts xix. 19). But there are few parallels to this scene in the literature of early Christianity.

the *Oratio ad Graecos* of pseudo-Justin may also be consulted, and especially the relevant sections in the *Apology* of Tertullian.

The duty of keeping oneself free from all contamination with polytheism ranked as the *supreme* duty of the Christian. It took precedence of all others. It was regarded as the negative side of *the duty of confessing one's faith*, and the "sin of idolatry" was more strictly dealt with in the Christian church than any sin whatsoever.[1] Not for long, and not without great difficulty, did the church make up her mind to admit that forgiveness could be extended to this offence, and what brought her first to this conclusion was the stress of the terrible consequences of the Decian outburst (*i.e.*, after 250 A.D.).[2] This we can well understand, for exclusiveness was the condition of her existence as a church. If she made terms with polytheism at a single point, it was all over with her distinctive character. Such was the position of affairs, at any rate until about the middle of the third century. After that she could afford to be less anxious, since the church as an institution had grown so powerful, and her doctrine, cultus, and organiza-

[1] Cp. Tertull., *de idol.* i.: "Principale crimen generis humani, summus saeculi reatus, tota causa iudicii, idolatria" ("Idolatry is the principal crime of mankind, the supreme guilt of the world, the entire reason of judgment"). In the opening chapter of this treatise Tertullian endeavours to prove that all the cardinal vices (*e.g.*, adultery, murder, etc.) are included in idolatry.

[2] Hitherto it had only dawned on Tertullian, during his conflict with the laxity displayed by the church in her treatment of fleshly sins, that under certain circumstances a denial of the faith extorted by means of torture was a lesser sin than adultery and fornication. A similar position is afterwards adopted by Cyprian.

tion had developed in so characteristic a fashion by that time, that she stood out as a sharply-defined magnitude *sui generis*, even when consciously or unconsciously she went half-way to meet polytheism in disguise, or showed herself rather lenient towards it.

But as the duty of confession did not involve the duty of pushing forward to confess, or indeed of denouncing oneself[1] (in the epistle of the church of Smyrna to the church of Philomelium an explicit protest is even entered against this practice, while elsewhere[2] the Montanist craving for martyrdom is also censured),[3] so to protest against polytheism did not involve the obligation of publicly protesting against it of one's own accord. There were indeed cases in which a Christian who was standing as a spectator in court audibly applauded a confessor, and in consequence of this was himself arrested. Such cases were mentioned with approval, for it was held that the Spirit had seized the spectator. But open

[1] Even to escape in time was permissible, according to Matt. x. 23, but the Montanists and Tertullian would not allow this; cp. the latter's treatise "de fuga in persecutione." Clement speaks very thoughtfully on the point; cp. *Strom.*, IV. x., lxxvi.–lxxvii., and VII. xi.–xii.

[2] The Acts of Perpetua relate, without any censure, how Saturus voluntarily announced that he was a Christian. But then these Acts are Montanist.

[3] It was not quite the same thing when Christians poured in troops into the court, in order to force the magistrate either to have them all killed or to spare them all; cp. Tertull., *ad Scap.* v.: Arrius Antoninus in Asia cum persequeretur instanter, omnes illius civitatis Christiani ante tribunalia eius se manu facta obtulerunt. tum ille paucis duci jussis reliquis ait: ὦ δειλοὶ, εἰ θέλετε ἀποθνήσκειν, κρημνοὺς ἢ βρόχους ἔχετε (cp. above, p. 342).

abuse of the emperor or the gods was not sanctioned any more than rebellion; in fact, all unprovoked insults and all upsetting of images was rebuked,[1] though here and there such incidents must have occurred, for in the sixtieth canon of Elvira we read: "Si quis idola fregerit et ibidem fuerit occisus, quatenus in evangelio scriptum non est neque invenietur sub apostolis unquam factum, placuit in numerum eum non recipi martyrum" ("If anyone shall have broken an idol and been slain in the act, he shall not be reckoned among the martyrs, seeing that no such command is to be found in scripture, nor will any such deed be found done among the apostles").

2. In order to combat polytheism effectively one could not stop short of the philosophers, and even the most distinguished of their number, for they had all some sort of connection with idol-worship. But at this point of their polemic the apologists diverged in different directions. All were agreed that no philosopher had discovered the truth in its purity and perfection; and further, that no philosopher was in a position to demonstrate with certainty the truth which he had discovered, or to spread it far and wide. But one set of apologists were quite content with making this strict proviso; moreover, they delighted in the harmony of Christianity and philosophy, and indeed, like Justin, would praise philosophers for

[1] Still there were some Christians who exulted in this kind of thing, as is clearly seen in several records (from a late period, of course) of the martyrs. Eusebius narrates approvingly (*de mart. Pal.* ii.) the action of the martyr Romanus, who, just after the Diocletian persecution had broken out, saw in Antioch a procession of men, women, and children on their way to the temples, and tried to stop them by means of loud warnings.

their moral aims and profound ideas. The Christian teachers in Alexandria even went the length of finding a parallel to the Jewish law in Greek philosophy.[1] Others, again, would not hear of philosophy or philosophers; the best service they could render the gospel-mission was, in their opinion, to heap coarse abuse on both. Tatian went to incredible lengths in this line, and was guilty of shocking injustice. Theophilus fell little short of him, while even Tertullian, for all his debt to the Stoics, came dangerously near to Tatian. But these apologists were under a complete delusion if they imagined they were accomplishing very much by dint of all their calumnies, for, so far as we are in a position to judge, it was not the methods of these extremists, but of Justin, of Clement, and of Origen, that impressed the Greek world of culture. Yet even the former had probably a public of their own. Most people either do not think at all, or else think in the crudest antitheses, and such natures would likely be impressed by Tatian's invectives. Besides, it is impossible to ignore the fact that neither he nor Tertullian were mere calumniators. They were honest men. Wherever they came upon any trace of polytheism whatsoever, all their moral sense rose in revolt; in polytheism, they were convinced, no good was to be found, and hence they gave credit to any calumnies which a profligate literature put at their disposal. Now, traces of polytheism were thickly scattered throughout all the philosophers, including even the most sublime of their number. Why, Socrates himself had ordered a cock to be

[1] Cp. my lecture on "Socrates and the Early Church" (1900).

slain, after he was dead, in honour of Æsculapius! It was a bitter anecdote for those who fain would see in Socrates a hero of the truth, but who were nevertheless convinced monotheists. So even against Socrates they had to take up arms!

3. From the practical point of view, what was of probably still greater moment than the campaign against the world and worship of the gods, was the campaign against *the apotheosis of men.* This struggle, which reached its height in the uncompromising rejection of the imperial cultus, marked at the same time the resolute protest of Christianity against *the blending of religion and patriotism*, and consequently against that cultus of the state in which the state (personified in the emperor) formed itself the object of the cultus. One of the cardinal aims and issues of the Christian religion was to draw a sharp line between the worship of God and the honour due to the state and to its leaders. *Christianity tore up political religion by the roots.*

The imperial cultus was of a twofold nature. In both aspects it was an Oriental, and not a Greek or Roman phenomenon; yet this worship of the dead Cæsars and of the living Cæsar, with its adoration of the imperial images, was dovetailed without any difficulty into the "caeremoniae Romanae," once the empire had become imperial. From the first the headquarters of the former (*i.e.*, the worship of the dead Cæsars) were in Rome, whence it was carried into the provinces as the most vital element of the state religion. The latter (*i.e.*, the worship of the living Cæsar) originated in the East, but as early as the first century it was adopted by Caligula and

Domitian, and during the second century it became quite common (in the shape of adoration paid to the Imperial images). The rejection of either cult was a crime which came under the head of sacrilege as well as of high treason, and *it was here that the repressive measures taken by the state against Christianity almost invariably took their rise*, inasmuch as the state did not concede Christianity the same liberty on this point as she granted to Judaism. Had the Christians merely turned round against Olympus and hit upon some compromise with the imperial cultus, they would in all probability have been left entirely unmolested—such is Tertullian's blunt assertion in his *Apology*. Nearly all the encounters between individual Christians and the regulations of the empire resolved themselves into a trial for treason.

The Christians repudiated the imperial cultus in every shape and form, even as they met it in daily life, in the very oaths and turns of expression which made the emperor appear a superhuman being. Unhesitatingly they reckoned it a phase of idolatry. Withal, they guarded themselves against the charge of being disrespectful and disloyal, by pointing to their prayers for the emperor and for the state.[1]

[1] Cp. the familiar passages from the New Testament, the apostolic fathers, and the apologists. The content of these intercessions, which was current in Carthage, is given by Tertullian in *Apol.* xxxix. ("Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum et potestatibus, pro statu saeculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis"—"We pray too for the emperors, for their subordinates, and for all authorities, for the welfare of the world, for peace, for the delay of the end"); and xxx. ("Precantes sumus semper pro omnibus imperatoribus: vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem

These prayers, in fact, constituted a fixed part of the organization of Christian worship from the very first,[1] while the saying of Christ, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," was generally referred, not merely to obedience and the punctual payment of taxes, but also to intercession. The very keenest criticism passed by individual Christian teachers upon the nature of the Roman state and the imperial office never enjoined the neglect of intercession or dissuaded Christians from this duty. Numerous passages, in which the emperor is mentioned immediately after God, attest the fact that he was held by Christians to be "a deo secundus ante omnes et super omnes deos" (Tertull., *Apol.* xxx.: "second only to God, before and above all the gods").[2] Christians, in fact, could declare that they allowed the presence of no

quietum, quaecumque hominis et Caesaris vota sunt [a deo oramus]" —"We ever pray to God for all the emperors, for length of life to them, for the safety of the empire, for the protection of the royal household, for bravery in the army, loyalty in the senate and virtue among the people, for peace throughout the world; in short, for whatever, as man or emperor, the Cæsars would desire").

[1] Their origin dates from the very earliest times, but we do not know what considerations led to their institution.

[2] This high estimate of the emperors as "second to God alone" does not, however, affect the conviction that they could never be Christians. At least it does not in the case of Tertullian (cp. *Apol.* xxi.: "Et Caesares credidissent super Christo, si aut Caesares non essent necessarii saeculo, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Caesares"—"The Cæsars, too, would have believed in Christ, if they had not been necessary to the world as Cæsars, or if they could have been Cæsars and Christians as well"). Sixty years later a different view prevailed throughout the East. Not only was it reported in wide circles that Alexander Severus and Philip were secretly Christians, but even so prominent a teacher as Dionysius of Alexandria believed this legend and did not take umbrage at it.

defect, either in the theory or in the practice of their loyalty. They taught—and they made their teaching part of the world's history—that worship paid to God was one thing, and honour paid to a ruler quite another, as also that to worship a monarch was a detestable and humiliating offence. None the less, they strictly inculcated obedience to all authority.

The position of the church did not alter in general upon this point during the third century;[1] it adhered to its sharp denial of apotheosis in the shape of the imperial cultus. But at one other point apotheosis gradually filtered into the church with elemental force, namely, through the worship of the apostles and the martyrs. As early as the apocryphal Acts, written about the close of the second and the opening of the third century, we find the apostles appearing as semi-divine; in fact, even by the year 160 A.D., the pagans in Smyrna were afraid in case the Christians would pay divine honours to the martyred Polycarp, while Lucian scoffs at the impostor Peregrinus, with his cheap martyrdom, passing for a god amongst the Christians. Both fear and scoff were certainly baseless as yet. But they were not baseless three generations afterwards. Towards the close of the third century there were already a number of chapels in existence, consecrated to the apostles, patriarchs, martyrs, and even the archangels; people had a predilection for passing the night at the graves of the saints, and had worked out a cultus of the saints which embraced a wide variety of local forms

[1] Dionysius of Alexandria (Eus., *H.E.*, vii. 23) no doubt applied Isa. xliii. 19 to Gallienus, who was friendly disposed towards the Christians. But this was mere rhetoric.

and afforded an indispensable means of conserving the ancient cults to which the common people still clung. Theoretically, the line between the worship of God and this cultus of deliverers and intercessors certainly continued to be sharply drawn throughout the third century, although one Christian root for the latter cultus is to be seen in the communion of the saints; as things stood, however, the distinctions between the two were constantly blurred in the course of practical experience. For all its monotheism, the Christian religion at the close of the third century represented a religion which was quite exceptionally strong in saints and angels and deliverers, in miraculous relics, and so forth, and thus it was able to try conclusions with any cult whatsoever. Porphyry (the pagan quoted in Macar. Magnes, IV. xxi.) was quite alive to this. He wrote as follows: "If therefore you declare that beside God there stand angels who are not subject to suffering and death, and are incorruptible in nature—*just the beings we call gods*, inasmuch as they stand near the godhead, then what is all the dispute about, with regard to names? Or are we to consider it merely a difference of terminology? . . . So if anyone likes to call them either gods or angels—for names are, on the whole, of no great moment, one and the same goddess, for example, being called Athenê and Minerva, and by still other names among the Egyptians and the Syrians—then it makes no great difference, as their divine nature is actually attested even by yourselves in Matt. xxii. 29–31."[1]

[1] Porphyry then proceeds, in his opposition to the cheap criticism levelled by Christians (see above) at idolatry—"When, therefore,

4. The warfare against polytheism was also waged by means of a thoroughgoing opposition to the theatre and to all the games. Anyone who considers the significance of these features in ancient life and their close connection with idolatry,[1] knows

it is admitted that the angels share in the divine nature, it is not, on the other hand, the belief of those who pay seemly honour to the gods, that God is composed of the wood or stone or brass from which the image is manufactured, nor is it their opinion that, whenever a bit of the image is broken off, some injury is thereby inflicted on the power of the god in question. Images and temples of the gods have been created from all antiquity for the sake of forming reminders to men. Their object is to make those who draw near them think of God thereby, or to enable them, after ceasing from work, and abstaining from anything else, to address their vows and prayers to him, that each may obtain from him whatever he is in need of. For when any person gets an image or picture of some friend prepared for himself, he certainly does not believe that his friend is to be found in the image, or that his members exist actually inside the different portions of the representation. His idea rather is that the honour which he pays to his friend finds expression in the image. And while the sacrifices offered to the gods do not bring them any honour, they are meant as a testimony to the goodwill of their worshippers, implying that the latter are not ungrateful to the gods." The majority of Christians scarcely reached any longer so pure and spiritual a conception of the question as this "worshipper of idols."

[1] Tert., *de spect.* iv.: "Quid erit summum ac praecipuum, in quo diabolus et pompae et angeli eius censeantur, quam idololatria? . . . Igitur si ex idololatria universam spectaculorum paraturam constare constiterit, indubitate praeiudicatum erit etiam ad spectacula pertinere renuntiationis nostrae testimonium in lavacro, quae diabolo et pompae et angelis eius sint mancipata, scil. per idololatriam. Commemorabimus origines singulorum, quibus incunabulis in saeculo adoleverint, exinde titulos quorundam, quibus nominibus nuncupentur, exinde apparatus, quibus superstitionibus instruantur, tum loca, quibus praesidibus dicantur, tum artes, quibus auctoribus deputentur. Si quid ex his non ad idolum pertinuerit, id neque ad idololatriam neque ad nostram eierationem

what a polemic against them implied. Still, we may observe that existence, in the case of vast numbers of people, was divided into daily drudgery and—"panis et circenses" (free food and the theatre). No member of the Christian church was allowed to be an actor or gladiator, to teach acting (see Cypr., *epist.* ii.), or to attend the theatre.[1] The earliest flash of polemic occurs in the *Oratio* of Tatian (xxii.-

pertinebit" ("Where, more than in idolatry, will you find the devil with his pomp and angels? . . . Therefore, if it can be proven that the whole business of the shows depends upon idolatry, unquestionably we shall have anticipated the conclusion that the confession of renouncing the world which we make in baptism, refers to these shows which have been handed over to the devil and his pomp and angels, *i.e.*, on account of their idolatry. We shall now exhibit their separate sources, the nurseries in which they have grown to maturity in the world; next the titles of some of them, the names by which they are called; after that, their contents, the superstitions by which they are supported; then their seats, the patrons to which they are dedicated; and finally their arts, the authors to whom they are to be referred. If any of these is found to have no connection with an idol, then it is irrelevant to idolatry and irrelevant also to an oath of abjuration"). Novatian, *de spect.* ii.: "Quando id quod in honore alicuius idoli ab ethnicis agitur [sc. the theatrical spectacles] a fidelibus christianis spectaculo frequentatur, et idololatria gentilis asseritur et in contumeliam dei religio vera et divina calcatur" ("Since whatever is performed by pagans in honour of any idol is attended by faithful Christians in the public spectacles, and thus pagan idolatry is maintained, whilst the true and divine religion is trodden under foot in contempt of God").

[1] *Minut. Felix*, xii.: "Vos vero suspensi interim atque solliciti honestis voluptatibus abstinetis, non spectacula visitis, non pompis interestis, convivia publica absque vobis, sacra certamina" ("But meantime, anxious and unsettled, you are abstaining from respectable enjoyments; you attend no spectacles, you take no part in public displays, public banquets and the sacred contests you reject")

xxiii.), and it was followed up by others, including the treatises of Tertullian and pseudo-Cyprian (Novatian) *de spectaculis*, and the discussions of Lactantius.[1] These writings by themselves are

[1] *Instit.*, vi. 20–21; see also Arnob., iv. 35 f.—Along with the games, participation in public festivals was also forbidden, as these were always bound up with polytheism. Cp. the seventh canon of Ancyra: *περὶ τῶν συνεστιαθέντων ἐν ἑορτῇ ἐθνικῇ, ἐν τόπῳ ἀφωρισμένῳ τοῖς ἐθνικοῖς, ἴδια βρώματα ἐπικομισαμένων καὶ φαγόντων, ἔδοξε διετίαν ὑποπεσόντας δεχθῆναι* ("With regard to those who have sat down at a pagan banquet, in a place set apart for pagans, even though they brought and ate their own food, it seems good to us that they be received after they have done penance for two years"). In this connection, Tertull., *de idol.* xiii.–xvi., is particularly noticeable. All public festivals, he declares, are to be avoided, since they are held either owing to wantonness or to timidity. "If we rejoice with the world, it is to be feared that we shall also mourn with the world." Here, of course, it is plain that Tertullian is in a minority. The majority of Christians at Carthage saw nothing wrong in attending public or private feasts; in fact, it was considered rather a dangerous mark of the factious spirit to abstain from them. "'Let your works shine,' is Christ's rule," says Tertullian in his cry of complaint. "But here are all our shops and doors shining! Nowadays you will find more doors unilluminated and unwreathed among the pagans than among the Christians! What do you think about the custom? If it is meant as honour to an idol, then certainly it is idolatry to honour an idol. If, again, it is done for the sake of some man, then let us remember that all idolatry is worship paid to men (the gods of the pagans having been formerly men themselves)." "I know how one Christian brother was severely punished in a vision on that very night, because his slaves had decorated his gateway with wreaths on the sudden proclamation of some public thanksgiving." Tertullian only draws the line at well-established family feasts such as those at the assumption of the toga virilis, betrothals, marriages, and name-givings, since these are not necessarily contaminated with idolatry, and since the command to observe no particular days does not apply in these instances. "One may accept an invitation to such functions, provided that the title of the invitation does not run 'to assist at a sacrifice.' Except in

enough to show that the above prohibitions were not universally obeyed.[1] The passion for the public games was almost irresistible, and Tertullian has actually to hold out hopes of the spectacle afforded by the future world as a compensation to Christians who were robbed of their shows in the present.[2] Still, the conflict with these shows was by no means in vain. On the contrary, its effects along this line

the latter event, I can please myself as much as I like. Since Satan has so thoroughly entangled the world in idolatry, it must be allowable for us to attend certain ceremonies, if thereby we stipulate that we are under obligations to a man and not to an idol."

[1] Novatian, *de spect.* i. : "Quoniam non desunt vitiorum assertores blandi et indulgentes patroni qui praestant vitiis auctoritatem *et quod est deterius censuram scripturarum caelestium in advocationem criminum convertunt,* quasi sine culpa innocens spectaculorum ad remissionem animi appetatur voluptas—nam et eo usque enervatus est ecclesiasticae disciplinae vigor et ita omni languore vitiorum praecipitatur in peius ut non iam vitiis excusatio sed auctoritas detur—placuit paucis vos non nunc instruere [*i.e.,* de spectaculis], sed instructos admonere" ("Plausible advocates of vice are not awanting, nor are complaisant patrons who lend their authority to vice and—*what is worse—twist the rebuke of scripture into a defence of crimes*; as if any innocent pleasure could be sought from public shows by way of relaxation for the mind. The vigour of ecclesiastical discipline has become so weakened and so deteriorated by all the languor produced by vices, that wickedness wins no longer an apology but actual authority for itself. Consequently I have determined not now to instruct you [on public shows], but in a few words to admonish those who have been instructed").

[2] *De spect.* xxx., with its closing sentence, "Ceterum qualia illa sunt, quae nec oculus vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascenderunt? Credo, circu et utraque cavea et omni stadio gratiora" ("But what are the things that eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man? Superior, I imagine, to the circus, the theatre, the amphitheatre, and any racecourse!").

were greater than along other lines. When Constantine granted privileges to the church, public opinion had developed to such an extent that the state immediately adopted measures for curtailing and restricting the public spectacles.[1]

5. A sharp attack was also made upon luxury, in so far as it was bound up in part with polytheism and certainly betrayed a senseless and pagan spirit. Cp. the *Paedagogus* of Clement, and Tertullian's writings "de cultu feminarum." It was steadily maintained that the money laid out upon luxuries would be better spent in charity.

6. With regard to the question of how far a Christian could take part in the manners and customs and occupations of daily life without denying Christ and incurring the stain of idolatry, there was a strict attitude as well as a lenient, freedom as well as narrowness, even as early as the apostolic age. Then the one burning question, however, seems to have been that of food offered to idols, or whether one could partake of meals provided by unbelievers. In those days, as the large majority of Christians belonged to the lower classes, they had no representative duties, but were drawn from working people of the lower orders, from day-labourers, in fact, whose simple occupation hardly brought them into any kind of relation to public life, and consequently exempted them from any conflict in this sphere. Presently, however, a change came over the situation. A host of difficult and vexatious problems poured

[1] Against games of chance, cp. the treatise of pseudo-Cyprian (Victor) *adversus aleatores*, and a number of cognate passages in other writings.

upon the churches. Even the laxer party would do nothing that ran counter to the will of God. They, too, had scriptural proofs ready to support their position, and corollaries from scriptural principles. "Flee from one city to another," was the command they pled, when they prudently avoided persecution. "I have power over all things," "We must be all things to all men"—so they followed the apostle in declaring. They knew how to defend even attendance at public spectacles from scripture. Novatian (*de spect.* ii.) sorrowfully quotes their arguments as follows:—"Where, they ask, are such scriptures? Where are such things prohibited? Nay, was not Elijah the charioteer of Israel? Did not David himself dance before the ark? We read of horns, psalteries, trumpets, drums, pipes, harps, and choral dances. The apostle, too, in his conflict with evil sets before us the struggle of the cæstus and our wrestling with the spiritual powers of wickedness. Again, he takes illustrations from the racecourse, and holds out to us the prize of the crown. Why, then, may not a faithful Christian look at things of which the sacred books could write?"

This defence of attendance at the games sounds almost frivolous. But there were many graver conflicts on this subject, which one follows with serious interest.

Participation in feasts and in convivial gatherings already occasioned such conflicts to a large extent, but it was the question of one's occupation that was really crucial. Can a Christian engage in business generally in the outside world without incurring the stain of idolatry? Though the strict party hardly

tabooed a single occupation on the score of principle, yet they would impose restrictions upon its pursuit to such an extent as to render the restrictions almost equivalent to a prohibition. In his treatise *de idololatria*, Tertullian goes over a series of occupations, and his conclusion is the same in almost every case: better leave it alone, or be prepared to abandon it at any moment. To the objection, "But I have no means of livelihood," the reply follows, "A Christian need never be afraid of starving."[1]

Tertullian especially prohibits the manufacture of idols (iv. f.), as was only natural. Yet there were Christian workmen who knew no other trade, and who tried to shelter themselves behind the text, "Let every man abide in the calling wherein he was called" (1 Cor. vii. 20). They also pointed out that Moses had a serpent manufactured in the wilderness. From Tertullian's charges it is quite evident that the majority in the church connived at such people and their practices. "From idols they pass into the church; from the workshop of an adversary they come to the house of God; to God the Father they

[1] Cp. especially the sharp remarks in ch. xii. f. *à propos* of the passages from the gospels, which conclude: "Nemo eorum, quos dominus allegit, non habeo, dixit, quo vivam. Fides famem non timet. Scit etiam famem non minus sibi contemnendam propter deum quam omne mortis genus; didicit non respicere vitam, quanto magis victum? Quotus quisque haec adimplevit? sed quae penes homines difficilia, penes deum facilia?" ("None of those whom the Lord chose for himself ever said, I have no means of livelihood. Faith has no fear of starvation. Faith also knows it must despise starvation as much as any kind of death, for the sake of God. Life it has learnt not to respect; how much more, food? How many, you ask, have answered these conditions? Ah well, what is hard with men is easy with God").

raise hands that produce idols; to the Lord's body they apply hands that have conferred bodies upon idols. Nor is this all. They are not content to contaminate what they receive from other hands, but even hand on to others what they have themselves contaminated." Manufacturers of idols are actually elected to ecclesiastical office! (vii.).

As against these lax members of the church, Tertullian prohibits the manufacture, not only of images and statues, but also of anything which was even indirectly employed in idol-worship. Carpenters, workers in stucco, joiners, slaters, workers in gold-leaf, painters, brass-workers, and engravers—all must refrain from manufacturing the slightest article required in idol-worship, all must refuse to participate in any work (*e.g.*, in repairs) connected therewith (ch. viii.).

Similarly no one is allowed to practise as an astrologer or a magician. Had not the magi to depart home "by another way"? Nor can any Christian be a schoolmaster or a professor of learning, since such professions frequently bring people into contact with idolatry. Knowledge of the pagan gods has to be diffused; their names, genealogy and myths have to be imparted; their festivals and holy days have to be observed, "since it is by means of them that the teacher's fees are reckoned." The first payment of any new scholar is devoted by the teacher to Minerva. Is the contamination of idolatry any the less because in this case it leads to something else? It may be asked, if one is not to be a teacher of pagan learning, ought one then to be a pupil? But Tertullian is quite ready to be indulgent on this

point, for—"how can he repudiate secular studies which are essential to the pursuit of religious studies?" A remarkable passage (x.).

Then comes trade. Tertullian is strongly inclined to prohibit trade altogether,[1] owing to its origin in covetousness and its connection, however indirectly, with idolatry. It provides material for the temple services. What more need be said? "Even supposing that these very wares—frankincense, I mean, and other foreign wares—used in sacrificing to idols, are also of use to people as medicinal salves, and particularly to us Christians in our preparations for a burial, still you are plainly promoting idolatry, so long as processions, ceremonies, and sacrifices to idols are furnished at the cost of danger, loss, inconvenience, schemes, discussion, and commercial ventures." "With what face can a Christian dealer in incense, who happens to pass by a temple, spit on the smoking altars, and puff aside their fumes, when he himself has provided material for those very altars?" (xi.).

Can a Christian hold a civil appointment? Joseph and Daniel did; they kept themselves free from idolatry, said the liberal party in the church. But Tertullian is unconvinced. "Supposing," he says, "that any one holder of an office may succeed in moving about with the mere title of the office, without either sacrificing or lending the sanction of his presence to a sacrifice, without farming out the supply of sacrificial victims, without handing over to other people the care of the temples or superintending their

[1] Tertullian stands here pretty much by himself. We find even a man like Irenæus (cp. iv. 30. 1) had no objections to a Christian engaging in trade.

revenues, without holding spectacles either at his own or at the state's expense, without presiding at such spectacles, without proclaiming or announcing any ceremony, without even taking an oath, and moreover —in regard to other official business—without passing judgment of life or death on any one or on his civil standing . . . . without either condemning or laying down ordinances of punishment, without chaining or imprisoning, or torturing a single person—well, supposing all that to be possible, then there is nothing to be said against a Christian being an official!" Furthermore, the badges of officials are all mixed up with idolatry. "If you have abjured the pomp of the devil, know that whatever part of it you touch is idolatry to you" (xvii.–xviii.).

What has been said involves the impossibility of any Christian being a military officer. But may he not be a private and fill subordinate positions in the army? "'The inferior ranks do not need to sacrifice, and have nothing to do with capital punishments.' True, but it is unbecoming for anyone to accept the military oath of God and also that of man, or to range himself under the standard of Christ and also under that of the devil, or to bivouac in the camp of light and also the camp of darkness; no soul can be indebted to both, to Christ and to the devil." You point to the warriors of Israel, to Moses and Joshua, to the soldiers who came to John the Baptist, to the centurion who believed. But "subsequently the Lord disarmed Peter, and in so doing unbuckled the sword of every soldier" (xix.). Even in peace it is not to be worn.

Many things still remain in ordinary life which

must be entirely proscribed. One must abjure any phrase in which the gods are named. Thus one dare not say, "By Hercules," or "as true as heaven" (*medius fidius*), or use any similar expletive (xx.). Nor is anyone to tacitly accept an adjuration addressed to himself, from fear of being recognised as a Christian if he demurs to it.[1] Every pagan blessing must be rejected; accept it, and you are accursed with God. "It is a denial of God for anyone to dissemble on any occasion whatsoever and let himself pass for a pagan. All denial of God is idolatry, just as all idolatry is denial of God, be it in word or in deed" (xxi.–xxii.). And even the pledge exacted from Christians as a guarantee when money is borrowed, is a denial of God, though the oath is not sworn in words (xxiii.).

"Such are the reefs and shoals and straits of idolatry, amid which faith has to steer her course, her sails filled by the Spirit of God." Yet after the close of the second century the large majority of Christians took quite another view of the situation, and sailed their ship with no such anxieties about their track.[2] Coarse forms of idolatry were loathed and severely punished, but during the age of Tertullian, at least, no attention was paid any longer to such subtle forms as were actually in existence. Moreover, when it suits his point to do so, Tertullian

[1] "I know one Christian who, on being publicly addressed during a law-suit with the words, 'Jove's wrath be on you,' answered, 'Nay, on *you*.'" The unlawfulness of this answer, according to Tertullian, consisted, not simply in the malediction, but in the recognition of Jupiter which it implied.

[2] Read the second and third books of Clement's *Paedagogus*. The author certainly does not belong to the lax party, but he does not go nearly the length of Tertullian.

himself in his *Apology* meets the charge of criminal isolation brought against Christians, by boasting that "we share your voyages and battles, your agriculture and your trading" (xlii.), remarking in a tone of triumph that Christians are to be met with everywhere, in all positions of state, in the army, and even in the senate. "We have left you nothing but the temples." Such was indeed the truth. The facts of the case are our informants, that Christians were to be found in every line of life,[1] and that troubles occasioned by one's occupation must have been on the whole very rare (except in the case of soldiers; see below, Bk. IV. Ch. II.). Nor was the sharp criticism passed by Tatian, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and even (though on different grounds, of course) by Origen, upon the state as such, and upon civil relations, translated very often into practice.[2] The kingdom of Christ, or

[1] Of course, as Tertullian sarcastically observes (*Apol.* xliii.), "pimps, panders, assassins, poisoners and sorcerers, with sacrificial augurs, diviners, and astrologers, very reasonably complain of Christians being a profitless race!" As early as Acts xix. we read of tradesmen in Ephesus who lived by the cult of Diana feeling injured by Christians.

[2] Still, Cæcilius (in *Min. Felix*, viii.) describes Christians as a "natio in publico muta, in angulis garrula (a people tongue-tied in public, but talkative in corners), honores et purpuras despiciunt (despising honours and purple robes)." Cp. Tatian, *Orat.* xi.: *βασιλεύειν οὐ θέλω, πλουτεῖν οὐ βούλομαι, τὴν στρατηγίαν παρῃτημαι . . . δοξομανίας ἀπήλλαγμαι* ("I have no desire to reign—no wish to be rich. I decline all leadership. . . . I am void of any frenzy for fame"), Speratus (in *Martyr. Scil.*): "Ego imperium huius saeculi non cognosco" ("of the kingdom of this world I know nothing"), Tertull., *Apol.* xlii.: "Christianus nec aedilitatem affectat ("the Christian has no ambition to be ædile"), and his critique of Roman laws in chaps. iv.–vi. of the *Apology*. On the charge of "infructuositas in negotio" (barrenness in affairs), see Tert., *de pallio*, v., where

the world-empire of the skies, or some platonic republic of the Christian philosophers, might be played off against the existing state, as the highest form of social union intended by God, but all this speculation left life untouched, at least from the close of the second century onwards. The *Paedagogus* of Clement already furnishes directions for managing to

all that is said of the pallium applies to Christians: "Ego, inquit, nihil foro, nihil campo, nihil curiae debeo, nihil officio advigilo, nulla rostra praeoccupo, nulla praetoria observo, canales non odoro, cancellos non adoro, subsellia non contundo, iura non conturbo, causas non elatro, non iudico, non milito, non regno, secessi de populo. in me unicum negotium mihi est; nisi aliud non curo quam ne curem. vita meliore magis in secessu fruare quam in promptu. sed ignavam infamabis. scilicet patriae et imperio reique vivendum est. erat olim ista sententia. nemo alii nascitur moriturus sibi. certe cum ad Epicuros et Zenones ventum est, sapientes vocas totum quietis magisterium, qui eam summae atque unicae voluptatis nomine consecravere," etc. ("I," quoth the cloak, "I owe no duty to the forum, the hustings, or the senate-house. I keep no obsequious vigils, I haunt no platforms, I boast no great houses, I scent no cross-roads, I worship no lattices, I do not wear out the judicial bench, I upset no laws, I bark in no pleadings at the bar; no judge am I, no soldier, and no king. I have withdrawn from the people. My peculiar business is with myself. No care have I save to shun care. You, too, would enjoy a better life in retreat than in publicity. But you will decry me as indolent. 'We must live,' forsooth, 'for country, empire, and estate.' Well, ours was the view in days gone by. None, it was said, is born for another's ends, since to himself he is to die. At all events, when you come to the Epicureans and Zenos, you dub all the teachers of quietism 'sages,' and they have hallowed quietism with the name of the 'unique' and 'supreme' pleasure"). *Apolog.* xxxviii. f.: "Nec ulla magis res aliena quam publica . . . unam omnium rempublicam agnoscimus, mundum ("Nothing is so alien to us as political affairs. . . . We recognize but one universal commonwealth, viz., the universe"). On the absence of any home-feeling among Christians, see Diognet., v. 5: *πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίας, ἀλλ' ὡς πάροικοι. μετέχουσι πάντων ὡς πολῖται, καὶ πάνθ' ὑπομένουσιν ὡς ξένοι·*

live a Christian life in the world. By the close of our period, the court, the civil service, and the army were full of Christians.

Still it was significant, highly significant indeed, that gross and actual idolatry was combated to the bitter end. With it Christianity would never come to terms.[1]

πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστιν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα πατρὶς ξένη ("They inhabit their own countries, but merely as sojourners; they share in everything as citizens and endure everything as strangers. Every foreign country is a fatherland to them, and every fatherland is foreign"); also Clem., *Paed.*, iii. 8. 41: πατρίδα ἐπὶ γῆν οὐκ ἔχομεν ("on earth we have no fatherland"). Not without reason does Celsus (*Orig.*, VIII. lxviii.) remark to his Christian opponent: "Were all to behave as you do, the emperor would ere long be left solitary and deserted, and the affairs of this world would presently fall into the hands of the most wild and lawless barbarians." He proceeds to point out that, in the event of this, Christianity would cease to exist, and that the Roman empire consequently was the support of Christianity. To which Christians replied that on the contrary it was they alone who upheld the empire.

Between the second century and the third (the line may be drawn about 180 A.D.) a vital change took place. In the former, Christians for the most part had the appearance of a company of people who shunned the light and withdrew from public life, an immoral, nefarious set who held aloof from actual life; in the third century, paganism to its alarm discovered in Christianity a foe which openly and energetically challenged it in every sphere, political, social, and religious. By this time the doctrine of Christianity was as familiar as its cultus, discipline, and organization; and just as Christian basilicas rose everywhere after the reign of Gallienus beside the older temples, so Christians rose to all the offices in the state. So far as regards the civil and social status of Christianity, the period dating from 250 A.D. belongs on the whole to the fourth century rather than to the preceding age.

[1] Nor did the sects of Christianity, with rare exceptions. In one or two cases the rarefied intellectualism and spiritual self-reliance of the gnostics made all external conduct, including any contact with idols, a matter of entire indifference, while open confession of one's

faith was held to be useless and, in fact, suicidal (cp. the polemic against this in Iren., iv. 33. 9; Clem., *Strom.*, iv. 4. 16; and Tertull., *Scorpiace adv. gnost.*). But the opponents of heresy taxed the gnostics in such cases also with a denial of their Christian position on principle, where no such denial existed whatsoever (cp. what has been said on Heracleon, p. 264), while at the same time they described the freer attitude of the gnostics towards the eating of sacrificial meat as an apostasy.

EPILOGUE.

CHRISTIANITY IN ITS COMPLETED FORM AS SYNCRETISTIC RELIGION.

How rich, then, how manifold, are the ramifications of the Christian religion at the very outset as it steps on to pagan soil! And every separate point appears to be the main point, every single aspect looks like the whole! It is the preaching of God the Father Almighty (θεὸς πατὴρ παντοκράτωρ), of his Son the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the resurrection. It is the gospel of the Saviour and of salvation. It is the gospel of love and charity. It is the religion of the Spirit and power, of moral earnestness and holiness. It is the religion of authority and of an unlimited faith, and again, the religion of reason and of enlightened understanding, besides being a religion of "mysteries." It proclaims the origin of a new people, of a people which has existed in secret from the very beginning of things. It is the religion of a sacred book. It possessed, nay, it was, everything that can possibly be considered as religion.

Christianity thus showed itself to be syncretistic. But it revealed to the world a special kind of syncretism, namely, the syncretism of a universal religion. Every force, every relationship in its

environment, was mastered by it and made to serve its own ends—a feature in which the other religions in the Roman empire make but a poor, a meagre, and a narrow show. Yet unconsciously it learned and borrowed from many quarters; indeed it would be impossible to imagine it existing amid all the wealth and vigour of these religions, had it not drawn pith and flavour even from them. These religions fertilized the ground for it, and the new grain and seed which fell upon that soil sent down its roots and grew to be a mighty tree. Here is a religion which embraces everything, and yet it can always be expressed in perfectly simple terms: one name, the name of Jesus Christ, still sums up everything.

The syncretism of this religion is further shown by its faculty for incorporating the most diverse nationalities—Parthians, Medes and Elamites, Greeks and barbarians. It laughed at the barriers of nationality. While attracting to itself all popular elements, it repudiated only *one*, viz., that of the *Jewish nationalism*. But this very repudiation was a note of universalism, for, although Judaism had been divested of its nationalism and already turned into a universal religion, its universalism had remained for two centuries confined to narrow limits. And how universal did Christianity show itself, in relation to the capacities and culture of mankind! Valentinus is a contemporary of Hermas, and both are Christians; Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria are contemporaries, and both are teachers in the church; Eusebius is a contemporary of St Antony, and both are in the service of the same communion.

Nor does even all this cover what may be termed

"syncretism," in the proper sense of the word. After the middle of the third century A.D., Christianity falls to be considered as syncretistic religion in the fullest sense; as such it faced the two other syncretistic products of the age, Manicheanism and the Neoplatonic religion which was bound up with the sun-cult.[1] Henceforward, Christianity may be just

[1] See my *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Bd. I.(3), pp. 766 f., 785 f. (Eng. trans., iii. 316 f.): "Three great religious systems confronted each other in Western Asia and Southern Europe from the close of the third century: *Neoplatonism, Catholicism,* and *Manichæism.* All three may be characterized as the final results of a history which had lasted for over a thousand years, the history of the religious development of the civilized nations from Persia to Italy. In all three the old national and particular character of religion was laid aside; they were *world-religions* of the most universal tendency, with demands whose consequences transformed the whole life of man, both public and private. For the national cultus they substituted a system which aspired to be at once a theology, a theory of the universe, and a science of history, while at the same time it embraced a definite ethic and a ritual of worship Formally, therefore, all these religions were alike, and they were also similar in this respect, that each had appropriated the elements of different older religions. Further, they showed their similarity in bringing to the front the ideas of *revelation, redemption, ascetic virtue* and *immortality.* But Neoplatonism was natural religion spiritualized, the polytheism of Greece transfigured by Oriental influences and developed into pantheism. Catholicism was the monotheistic world-religion based on the Old Testament and the gospel, but built up with the aid of Hellenic speculation and ethics. Manichæism was the dualistic world-religion, resting on Chaldæism, but interspersed with Christian, Parsi, and perhaps Buddhist ideas. Manichæism lacked the Hellenic element, while Catholicism almost entirely lacked the Chaldee and Persian. Here three world-religions developed in the course of two centuries (*c.* A.D. 50–250), Catholicism coming first and Manichæism last. Both of these were superior to Neoplatonism, for the very reason that the latter had no *founder*; it therefore developed no elemental force, and

as truly called a Hellenic religion as an Oriental, a native religion as well as a foreign. From the very outset it had been syncretistic upon pagan soil; it made its appearance, not as pure and simple gospel, but equipped with all that Judaism had already acquired during the course of its long history, and entering forthwith upon nearly everything that Judaism lacked. Still it was the middle of the third century that first saw the new religion in full bloom as the syncretistic religion *par excellence*, and yet, for all that, as an exclusive religion. As a church, it contained everything the age could offer, a powerful priesthood, with both a high priest and subordinate clergy, a priesthood which went back as far as Christ and the apostles, and led bishops to glory in their succession and apostolic ordination. Christianity possessed every element included in the conception of "priesthood." Its worship, together with the sacraments, represented a real activity of the divine nature. The world to come, and the powers of an endless life, operated in the cultus, and through it upon the world; they could be laid hold of and appropriated in a way that was at once spiritual and corporeal. To believers Christianity disclosed all that was ever included in the terms "revealed knowledge," "mysteries," and "cultus." In its doctrine it had incorporated everything offered by that syncretism of the age which we have briefly described

never lost the character of being an artificial creation. Attempts were made to *invent* a founder for it, but naturally they came to nothing. Yet, even apart from its contents as a religion, Catholicism was superior to Manichæism, because its founder was venerated, not merely as the bearer of revelation, but as the redeemer in person and the Son of God."

(pp. 29 f.). And while it certainly was obliged to re-arrange this syncretism and correct it in some essential points, upon the whole it did appropriate the system. In the doctrinal system of Origen which dominated thoughtful Christians in the East during the second half of the third century, the combination of the gospel and of syncretism is a *fait accompli*. Christianity possessed in a more unsullied form the contents of what is meant by "the Greek philosophy of religion." Powerful and vigorous, assured of her own distinctive character, and secure from any risk of being dissolved into contemporary religions, she believed herself able now to deal more generously and complaisantly with men, provided only that they would submit to her authority. Her missionary methods altered slowly but significantly in the course of the third century. Gregory Thaumaturgus, who shows himself a pupil of Origen in his religious philosophy with its comprehensive statement of Christianity, but who, as a Hellenist, excels his master, accommodated himself as a bishop in a truly surprising way to the pagan tendencies of those whom he converted. We shall hear of him later on. Saints and intercessors, who were thus semi-gods, poured into the church. Local cults and holy places were instituted. The different provinces of life were distributed afresh among guardian spirits. The old gods returned; only, their masks were new. Annual festivals were noisily celebrated. Amulets and charms, relics and bones of the saints, were all objects of desire. And the very religion which erstwhile in its strictly spiritual temper had prohibited and resisted any tendency towards materialism, now

took material shape in every one of its relationships. It had killed the world and nature. But now it proceeded to revive them, not of course in their entirety, but still in certain sections and details, and — what is more — in phases that were dead and repulsive. Miracles in the churches became more numerous, more external, and more coarse. Whatever incidents the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles had narrated in the course of their fables, were dragged into contemporary life and predicated of the living present.

This church, amid whose religion Porphyry found blameworthy features in its audacious critique of the universe, its doctrine of the incarnation, and its assertion of the resurrection of the flesh[1]—this church laboured at her mission in the second half of the third century, and she won the day. But had she been summoned to the bar and asked what right she had to admit these novelties, she could have replied, "I am not to blame. I have but developed the germ which was planted in my being from the

[1] The points of agreement between Celsus and Origen are already striking and instructive, although Celsus's was not a religious nature; still more striking are the points of agreement between Porphyry and the Oriental church-teachers of his age. Porphyry's acute criticism of the gospels (especially the Fourth gospel), which is at many points quite justified, as well as of the apostle Paul, with whom he had little sympathy, cannot conceal from us the fact that, apart from these three points, he was substantially of *one* mind with the Christians, and that he and they were breathing the same religious disposition. The main point of difference lay in the fact that he reverently combined the entire universe with the Godhead, refusing to separate the Godhead from it, although he hated "the garment spotted by the flesh" as thoroughly as did the Christian teachers.

very first!" *This* religion was the first to cut the ground from under the feet of all other religions, and by means of her religious philosophy, as a civilising power, to displace ancient philosophy.[1] But the reasons for the triumph of Christianity in that age are no guarantee for the permanence of that triumph throughout the history of mankind. Such a triumph rather depends upon the simple elements of the religion, on the preaching of the living God as the Father of men, and on the likeness of Jesus Christ. For that very reason it depends also on the capacity of Christianity to strip off once more any collective syncretism and unite itself to fresh coefficients. The Reformation made a beginning in this direction.

[1] Cp. the question started by Henrici in his *Das Urchristenthum* (1902), p. 3.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES (APOSTLES, EVANGELISTS, AND PROPHETS OR TEACHERS: THE INFORMAL MISSIONARIES).

I.

BEFORE entering upon the subject proper, let us briefly survey the usage of the term "apostle," in its wider and narrower senses, throughout the primitive Christian writings.[1]

1. In Matthew, Mark, and John, "apostle" is not a special and distinctive name for the inner circle of the disciples of Jesus. These are almost invariably described as "the twelve,"[2] or the twelve disciples.[3]

[1] Though it is only apostles of Christ who are to be considered, it may be observed that Paul spoke (2 Cor. viii. 23) of ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, and applied the title "apostle of the Philippians" to Epaphroditus, who had conveyed to him a donation from that church (Philip. ii. 25). In Heb. iii. 1 Jesus is called "the apostle and high-priest of our confession." But in John xiii. 16 "apostle" is merely used as an illustration: οὐκ ἔστι δοῦλος μείζων τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἀπόστολος μείζων τοῦ πέμψαντος αὐτόν.

[2] Matt. x. 5, xx. 17, xxvi. 14, 47; Mark (iii. 14), iv. 10, vi. 7, ix. 35, x. 32, xi. 11, xiv. 10, 17, 20, 43; John vi. 67, 70, 71, xx. 24.

[3] Matt. x. i, xi. 1, xxvi. 20.—Add further the instances in which they are called "the eleven" (Mark xvi. 14) or "the eleven disciples."

As may be inferred from Matt. xix. 28, the choice of this number probably referred to the twelve tribes of Israel.[1] In my opinion the fact of their selection is historical, as is also the tradition that even during his lifetime Jesus once despatched them to preach the gospel, and selected them with that end in view. At the same time, the primitive church rested their dignity, not on their position as apostles, but as the twelve disciples (chosen by Jesus). In John they are never called the apostles;[2] in Matthew they are apparently called "the twelve apostles" (x. 2) once,[3] but this reading is a correction, Syr. Sin. giving "disciples." At one place Mark writes "the apostles" (vi. 30), but this refers to their temporary missionary labours during the life of Jesus. All those evangelists are thus ignorant of "apostle" as a designation of the twelve; there is but *one* instance where the term is applied to them *ad hoc*.[4]

[1] This is explicitly stated in Barn. 8: *οὖσιν δεκαδύο εἰς μαρτύριον τῶν φυλῶν ὅτι ιβ΄ αἱ φυλαὶ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ* ("They are twelve for a testimony to the tribes, for there are twelve tribes in Israel").

[2] This is a remarkable fact. In the Johannine epistles "apostle" never occurs at all. Yet these letters were composed by a man who, whatever he may have been, claimed and exercised apostolic authority over a large number of the churches, as is plain from the third epistle (see my study of it in the fifteenth volume of the *Texte und Untersuchungen*, part 3). More on this point afterwards.

[3] Not "the twelve" pure and simple. Elsewhere the term, "the twelve apostles," occurs only in Apoc. xxi. 14, and there the "twelve" is not superfluous, as the Apocalypse uses "apostle" in its more general sense (see below).

[4] The phrasing of Mark iii. 14 (*ἐποίησεν δώδεκα ἵνα ὦσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἵνα ἀποστέλλῃ αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν καὶ ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἐκβάλλειν τὰ δαιμόνια*) corresponds to the original facts of the case. The mission (within Israel) was one object of their election from the very first; see, further, the saying upon "fishers of men" (Mark i. 17).—In this

2. With Paul it is quite otherwise. He never employs the term "the twelve" (for in 1 Cor. xv. 5 he is repeating a formula of the primitive church),[1] but confines himself to the idea of "apostles." His terminology, however, is not unambiguous on this point.

(*a*) He calls himself an apostle of Jesus Christ, and lays the greatest stress upon this fact.[2] He became an apostle, as alone one could, through God (or Christ); God called him and gave him his apostleship,[3] and his apostleship was proved by the work he did and by the way he did it.[4]

(*b*) His fellow-missionaries—*e.g.*, Barnabas and Silvanus—are also apostles; not so, however, his assistants and pupils, such as Timothy and Sosthenes.[5]

connection we must also note those passages in the gospel where ἀποστέλλειν is used, *i.e.*, where it is applied by Jesus to his own commissions and to the disciples whom he commissions (particularly John xx. 21, καθὼς ἀπέσταλκέν με ὁ πατὴρ, κἀγω πέμπω ὑμᾶς).

[1] From the absence of the term "twelve" in Paul, one might infer (despite the gospels) that it did not arise till later; 1 Cor. xv. 5, however, proves the reverse.

[2] See the opening of all the Pauline epistles, except 1 and 2 Thess., Philippians and Philemon; also Rom. i. 5, xi. 13, 1 Cor. iv. 9, ix. 1 f., xv. 9 f., 2 Cor. xii. 12, Gal. i. 17 (ii. 8). It may be doubted whether, in 1 Cor. iv. 9 (δοκῶ, ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐσχάτους ἀπέδειξεν ὡς ἐπιθανατίους), ἐσχάτους is to be taken as an attribute of ἀποστόλους or as a predicative. I prefer the former construction (see 1 Cor. xv. 8 f.), and it seems to me therefore probable that the first person plural is an epistolary plural.

[3] Gal. i. 1 f., Rom. i. 5 (ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ ἀποστολήν). It is hard to say whether ἐλάβομεν is a real plural, and, if so, what apostles are here associated with Paul.

[4] 1 Cor. ix. 1, 2, xv. 9 f., 2 Cor. xii. 12, Gal. i. 2.

[5] 1 Cor. ix. 4 f. and Gal. ii. 9 prove that Barnabas was an apostle, whilst 1 Thess. ii. 7 makes it very probable that Silvanus too was an apostle. In the greetings of the Thessalonian and

(*c*) Others also—probably, *e.g.*, Andronicus and Junias[1]—are apostles. In fact, the term cannot be sharply restricted at all; for as God appoints prophets and teachers "in the church," so also does he appoint apostles to be the front rank therein,[2] and since such charismatic callings depend upon the church's needs, which are known to God alone, their numbers are not fixed. To the apostleship belong (in addition to the above-mentioned call of God or Christ), the wonderful deeds which accredit it (2 Cor. xii. 12) and a work of its own (1 Cor. ix. 1–2), in

Philippian epistles Paul does not call himself an apostle, since he is associating himself with Timothy, who is never given this title (1 Thess. ii. 7 need not be taken as referring to him). It is therefore quite correct in 2 Tim. iv. 5 to ascribe to him the work of an evangelist. Apollos, too [see p. 414], is never called an apostle. As for εὐαγγελιστής, it is to be noted that, apart from 2 Timothy, it occurs twice in the New Testament; namely, in the We-journal in Acts (xxi. 8, as a title of Philip, one of the seven), and in Ephes. iv. 11, where the reason for evangelists being mentioned side by side with apostles is that the epistle is addressed to churches which had been founded by non-apostolic missionaries, and not by Paul himself—just as the term οἱ ἀκούσαντες (sc. τὸν κύριον) is substituted for "apostles" in Heb. ii. 3, because the readers for whom the epistle was originally designed had not received their Christianity from apostles.

[1] Rom. xvi. 7 (ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, οἳ καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γέγοναν ἐν Χριστῷ); ἐν is probably (with Lightfoot, as against Zahn) to be translated "among" rather than "by," since the latter would render the additional phrase rather superfluous and leave the precise scope of ἀπόστολοι unintelligible. If ἐν means "by," this passage is to be correlated with those which understand by οἱ ἀπόστολοι the original apostles, since in the present case this gives the simplest meaning to the words. At any rate, the οἳ refers to Andronicus and Junias, not to ἀποστόλοις.

[2] 1 Cor. xii. 28 f.; Eph. iv. 11. Even Eph. ii. 20 and iii. 5 could not be understood to refer exclusively to the so-called "original apostles," otherwise Paul would simply be disavowing his own position.

addition to special rights.[1] He who can point to such is an apostle. The very polemic against false apostles (2 Cor. xi. 13) and "super-apostles" (2 Cor. xi. 5, xii. 11), proves that Paul did not regard the conception of "apostle" as implying any fixed number of persons, otherwise the polemic would take a different turn. Finally, a comparison of 1 Cor. xv. 7 with verse 5 of the same chapter shows, with the utmost clearness, that Paul distinguished a circle of apostles which was wider than the twelve—a distinction, moreover, which prevailed during the earliest period of the church and within Palestine.

(*d*) But in a further, strict, sense of the term, "apostle" is reserved for those with whom he himself works,[2] and here some significance attaches to the very chronological succession of those who were called to the apostleship (Rom. xvi. 7). The twelve who were called during the lifetime of Jesus fall to be considered as the oldest *apostles*;[3] with

[1] It cannot be proved—at least not with any great degree of probability — from 1 Cor. ix. 1 that one *must* have seen the Lord in order to be able to come forward as an apostle. The four statements are an ascending series (οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐλεύθερος; οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος; οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἑόρακα; οὐ τὸ ἔργον μου ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν κυρίῳ), as is proved by the relation of the second to the first. It is clear that the third and fourth statements are meant to attest the second, but it is doubtful if they contain an attestation which is absolutely necessary.

[2] 1 Cor. ix. 2 and Gal. ii. (a Jewish and a Gentile apostolate); cp. also Rom. xi. 13, ἐθνῶν ἀπόστολος. Peter (Gal. ii. 8) has the ἀποστολὴ τ. περιτομῆς. Viewed ideally, there is only *one* apostolate, since there is only *one* church; but the concrete duties of the apostles vary.

[3] The apostolate is the highest rank (1 Cor. xii. 28); it follows that the main thing even about the twelve is the fact of their being apostles.

their qualities and functions they form the pattern and standard for all subsequent apostles. *Thus the twelve, and (what is more) the twelve as apostles, come to the front.* As *apostles* Paul put them in front; in order to set the dignity of his own office in its true light, he embraced the twelve under the category of the *original apostolate* (thereby allowing their personal discipleship to fall into the background, in his terminology), and thus raised them above all other apostles, although not higher than the level which he claimed to occupy himself. That the twelve henceforth rank in history as the twelve apostles, and in fact as *the* apostles, was a result brought about by Paul; and paradoxically enough, this was brought about by him in his efforts to fix the value of his own apostleship. He certainly did not work out this conception, for he neither could nor would give up the more general conception of the apostleship. Thus the term "apostle" is confined to the twelve only twice in Paul,[1] and even in these passages the reference is not absolutely certain. They occur in the first chapter of Galatians and in 1 Cor. ix. 5. Gal. i. 17 speaks of *οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀπόστολοι* ("those who were apostles before me"), where in all likelihood the twelve are alone to be understood. Yet the subsequent remark in verse 19 (*ἕτερον τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου*) shows that it was of no moment to Paul to rigidly restrict the conception. In 1 Cor. ix. 5 we read, *μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν,*

[1] Apart from 1 Cor. xv. 7 (cp. verse 5), where the twelve appear as the original nucleus of the apostles; probably also apart from Rom. xvi. 7 (cp. p. 401, note) and i. 5.

ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Κηφᾶς; the collocation of λοιπῶν ἀποστολῶν with the Lord's brothers renders it very probable that Paul is thinking here of the twelve exclusively, and not of all the existing apostles, when he mentions "the apostles." To sum up our results: Paul holds fast to the wider conception of the apostolate, but the twelve disciples form in his view its original nucleus.

3. The terminology of Luke is determined as much by that of the primitive age (the Synoptic tradition) as by the post-Pauline. Following the former, he calls the chosen disciples of Jesus "the twelve,"[1] or "the eleven,"[2] while he reproduces the latter in describing these disciples almost invariably throughout Acts as simply "the apostles"—just as though there were no other[3] apostles at all—and in relating, in his gospel, how Jesus himself called them apostles (vi. 13). Accordingly, even in the gospel he occasionally calls them "the apostles."[4] This would incline one to lay down the proposition that Luke either knew or wished to know of no apostles save the twelve; but the verdict would be precipitate, for in Acts xiv. 4, 14, he describes not merely Paul but also

[1] Luke viii. 1, ix. 1, 12, xviii. 31, xxii. 3, 47; Acts vi. 2. Only once, then, are they called by this title in Acts, and that in a place where Luke seems to me to be following a special source.

[2] Luke xxiv. 9, 33 (cp. Acts ii. 14, Πέτρος σὺν τοῖς ἕνδεκα).

[3] Acts i. 2, ii. 37, 42–43, iv. 33, 35, 36, 37, v. 2, 12, 18, 29, 40, vi. 6, viii. 1, xiv. 18, ix. 27, xi. 1, xv. 2, 4, 6, 22, 23, xvi. 4. In the later chapters "apostle" no longer occurs at all. Once we find the expression οἱ ἕνδεκα ἀπόστολοι (Acts i. 26).

[4] Luke ix. 10, xvii. 5, xxii. 14, xxiv. 10. The gospel of Peter is more cautious; it speaks of μαθηταί (30), or of οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταί (59), but never of ἀπόστολοι. Similarly the apocalypse of Peter (5) writes, ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταί.

Barnabas as an apostle.[1] Obviously the terminology was not yet fixed by any means. Nevertheless it is still surprising that Paul is only described as an "apostle" upon *one* occasion in the whole course of the book. Paul does not come[2] under the description of the qualities requisite for the apostleship, which Luke has in view in Acts i. 21 f., a description which became more and more normative for the next age. Consequently he cannot have been an apostle to Luke, except in the wider sense of the term.

4. The apocalypse of John mentions those who call themselves apostles and are not (ii. 2),[3] which implies that they *might* be apostles. Obviously the writer is following the wider and original conception of the apostolate. The reference in xviii. 20 does not at least contradict this,[4] any more than xxi. 14 (see

[1] With both Paul (see above) and Luke, then, the apostolic dignity of Barnabas is well established.—In regard to the Seventy disciples Luke does speak of an ἀποστέλλειν and calls them "seventy other" apostles, in allusion to the twelve. Yet he does not call them explicitly apostles. But Irenæus (II. xxi. 1), Tertullian (*adv. Marc.*, iv. 24), Origen (on Rom. xvi. 7), and other writers, describe them as apostles, and people who were conjectured to have belonged to the Seventy were also named apostles by a later age.

[2] The apostle to be elected must have companied with Jesus from the date of John's baptism until the ascension; he must also have been a witness of the resurrection (cp. also Luke xxiv. 48, Acts i. 8). (Paul simply requires an apostle to have "seen" the Lord.) This conception of the apostolate gradually displaced the original conception entirely, although Paul still retained his apostolic dignity as an exception to the rule.

[3] Cp. (above) Paul's judgment on the false apostles.

[4] Εὐφραίνου οὐρανὲ καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι καὶ οἱ ἀποστόλοι καὶ οἱ προφῆται. For the collocation of the Old Testament prophets, cp. also Luke xi. 49, 2 Pet. iii. 2. But in our passage, as in Eph. iii. 20, iii. 5, iv. 11, the writer very possibly means Christian prophets.

above), although only the twelve are named here "apostles," while the statement with its symbolic character has certainly contributed very much to win the victory for the narrower sense of the term.

5. In First Peter and Second Peter (i. 1), Peter is called an apostle of Jesus Christ. As for Jud. 17 and 2 Pet. iii. 2 (*τὰ ῥήματα τὰ προειρημένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὰ προειρημένα ῥήματα ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῶν ἐντολὴ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος*), in the first passage it is certain, and in the second very likely, that only the twelve disciples are to be understood.

6. That the epistle of Clement uses "apostles" merely to denote the original apostles and Paul, is perfectly clear from xlii. 1 f. (the apostles chosen previous to the resurrection) and xlvii. 4 (where Apollos as *ἀνὴρ δεδοκιμάσμενος παρ' ἀποστόλοις*, a man approved by the apostles, is definitely distinguished from the apostles); cp. also v. 3 and xliv. 1. For Clement's conception of the apostolate, see below. The epistle of Barnabas (v. 9) speaks of the Lord's choice of his own apostles (*ἴδιοι ἀπόστολοι*), and therefore seems to know of some other apostles; in viii. 3 the author only mentions the twelve "who preached to us the gospel of the forgiveness of sins[1] and were empowered to preach the gospel," without calling them

[1] *οἱ ῥαντίζαντες παῖδες οἱ εὐαγγελισάμενοι ἡμῖν τὴν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τὸν ἁγνισμὸν τῆς καρδίας, οἷς ἔδωκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὴν ἐξουσίαν—οὖσιν δεκαδύο εἰς μαρτύριον τῶν φυλῶν, ὅτι δεκαδύο φυλαὶ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ—εἰς τὸ κηρύσσειν* ("The children who sprinkle are those who preached to us the gospel of the forgiveness of sins and purification of heart; they whom he empowered to preach the gospel, being twelve in number for a testimony to the tribes—since there are twelve tribes in Israel").

expressly "apostles."[1] As the Preaching of Peter professes to be an actual composition of Peter, it is self-evident that whenever it speaks of apostles, the twelve are alone in view.[2]

7. The passage in *Sim.* IX. xvii. 1 leaves it ambiguous whether Hermas meant by "apostles" the twelve or some wider circle. But the other four passages in which the apostles occur (*Vis.*, III. v. 1; *Sim.*, IX. xv. 4, xvi. 5, xxv. 2) make it perfectly clear that the author had in view a wider, although apparently a definite, circle of persons, and that he consequently paid no special attention to the twelve (see below, Sect. III., for a discussion upon this point and upon the collocation of apostles, bishops, and teachers, or of apostles and teachers). Similarly the Didachê contemplates only a wider circle of apostles. It certainly avows itself to be, as the title suggests, a *διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν ιβ' ἀποστόλων* (an instruction of the Lord given through the twelve apostles), but the very addition of the number in this title is enough to show that the book knew of other apostles as well, and in xi. 3–6 it is a question of apostles taken exclusively in the wider sense of the term (details of this in a later section).

8. In the dozen passages where the word "apostle" occurs in Ignatius, there is not a single one which

[1] As v. 9 shows, this is merely accidental.

[2] See von Dobschütz in *Texte u. Unters.*, xi. 1. Jesus says in this Preaching: *Ἐξελεξάμην ὑμᾶς δώδεκα μαθητὰς κρίνας ἀξίους ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀποστόλους πιστοὺς ἡγησάμενος εἶναι, πέμπων ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον εὐαγγελίσασθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνθρώπους, κ.τ.λ.* ("I have chosen you *twelve disciples,* judging you to be worthy of me and esteeming you to be faithful *apostles,* sending you out into the world to preach the gospel to all its inhabitants," etc.).

renders it probable that the word is used in its wider sense. On the contrary, there are several in which the only possible allusion is to the primitive apostles. We must therefore conclude that by "apostle" Ignatius simply and solely understood[1] the twelve and Paul (*Rom.* iv. 3). Any decision in the case of Polycarp (*ep.*, vi. 3, viii. 1) is uncertain, but he would hardly have occupied a different position from that of Ignatius. His church added to his name the title of an "*apostolic* and prophetic teacher" (*ep. Smyrn.*, xvi. 2).

This survey of the primitive usage of the word "apostle" shows that while two conceptions existed side by side, the narrower was successful in making headway against its rival.[2]

II.

One other preliminary inquiry is necessary before we can proceed to the subject of this chapter. We are to hear of apostles, prophets, and teachers as the missionaries or preachers of Christianity ; the question is, whether this threefold group can be explained from Judaism.

Such a derivation is in any case limited by the fact

[1] Ignatius disclaims apostolic dignity for himself, in several passages of his epistles; which nevertheless is a proof that there was a possibility of one who had not been an original apostle being none the less an apostle.

[2] During the course of the second century it became more rare than ever to still confer the title of "apostles" on any except the biblical apostles or persons mentioned as apostles in the Bible. Clement of Rome is called an apostle by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, IV. xvii. 105), and Quadratus is also once called by this name.

that these classes did not form any triple group in Judaism, their close association being a characteristic of primitive Christianity. With regard to each group, the following details are to be noted :—

1. *Apostles.*[1] Jewish officials bearing this title are unknown to us until the destruction of the temple and the organization of the Palestinian patriarchate; but it is extremely unlikely that no "apostles" previously existed, since the Jews would hardly have created an official class of "apostles" after the appearance of the Christian apostles. At any rate the fact was there, as also, beyond question, was the name[2]—*i.e.*, of authoritative officials who collected contributions from the Diaspora for the temple and kept the churches in touch with Jerusalem and with each other. According to Justin (*Dial.* xvii., cviii., cxvii.) the thoroughly systematic measures which were started from Jerusalem in order to counteract the Christian mission were the work of the high priests and teachers, who despatched men (ἄνδρας χειροτονήσαντες ἐκλεκτούς) all over the world to give correct information about Jesus and his disciples. These were "apostles"[3]; that is, this task was entrusted to the

[1] The very restricted use of the word in classical (Attic) Greek is well known (Herod., I. 21 v. 38; Hesychius: ἀπόστολος· στρατηγὸς κατὰ πλοῦν πεμπόμενος). In the LXX. the word occurs only in 1 Kings xiv. 6 (describing the prophet Abijah: Hebrew שְׁלוּחָה). Justin has to fall back on ἀποστέλλειν in order to prove (*Dial.* lxxv.) that the prophets in the Old Testament were called ἀπόστολοι.

[2] If Judaism had never known apostles, would Paul have spoken of "apostles" in 2 Cor. viii. 23, and Phil. ii. 25?

[3] The passages have been printed above, on pp. 64 f.; χειροτονήσαντες denotes the apostolate (cp. Acts xiii. 3).

"apostles" who kept Jerusalem in touch with the Diaspora.[1]

Eusebius (*in Isa.* xviii. 1 f.) proves that the chosen persons whom Justin thus characterizes are to be identified with the "apostles" of Judaism. The passage has been already printed (cp. pp. 66-67), but in view of its importance it may once more be quoted: *εὕρομεν ἐν τοῖς τῶν παλαιῶν συγγράμμασιν, ὡς οἱ τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἰκοῦντες τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἱερεῖς καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γράμματα διαχαράξαντες εἰς πάντα διεπέμψαντο τὰ ἔθνη τοῖς ἁπανταχοῦ Ἰουδαίοις διαβάλλοντες τὴν Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίαν ὡς αἵρεσιν καινὴν καὶ ἀλλοτρίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, παρήγγελλόν τε δι' ἐπιστολῶν μὴ παραδέξασθαι αὐτήν . . . . οἵ τε ἀπόστολοι αὐτῶν ἐπιστολὰς βιβλίνας κομιζόμενοι*[2] *ἁπανταχοῦ γῆς διέτρεχον, τὸν περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐνδιαβάλλοντες λόγον. ἀποστόλους δὲ εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν* (so that the institution was no novelty) *ἔθος ἐστὶν Ἰουδαίοις ὀνομάζειν τοὺς ἐγκύκλια γράμματα παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν ἐπικομιζομένους.* The primary function, therefore, which Eusebius emphasized in the Jewish "apostles" of his own day, was their duty of conveying encyclical epistles issued by the central authority for the instruction and direction of the Diaspora. In the law-book (*Theodosianus Codex*, xvi. 8. 14), as is only natural, another side is

[1] For this intercommunication see, e.g., Acts xxviii. 21: *οὔτε γράμματα περὶ σοῦ ἐδέξαμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας* (say the Roman Jews, with regard to Paul) *οὔτε παραγενόμενός τις τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπήγγειλεν.* A cognate reference is that of 2 Cor. iii. 1, to *ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαί.*

[2] The allusion is to Isa. xviii. 1–2, where the LXX. reads: *οὐαὶ . . . . ὁ ἀποστέλλων ἐν θαλάσσῃ ὅμηρα καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βιβλίνας ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος*, while Symmachus has not *ὅμηρα* but *ἀποστόλους*. Eusebius therefore refers this passage to the false "apostles" of Judaism, and the words *πορεύσονται γὰρ ἄγγελοι κοῦφοι κ.τ.λ.*, to the true apostles.

presented: "Superstitionis indignae est, ut archisynagogi sive presbyteri Judaeorum vel quos ipsi *apostolos* vocant, qui ad exigendum aurum atque argentum a patriarcha certo tempore diriguntur," etc. ("It is part of this worthless superstition that the Jews have chiefs of their synagogues, or elders, or persons whom they call *apostles*, who are appointed by the patriarch at a certain season to collect gold and silver"). It is the same aspect adduced, as the context indicates, by Julian (*epist.* xxv.; Hertlein, p. 513), when he speaks of "the apostleship you talk about" (λεγομένη παρ' ὑμῖν ἀποστολή). Jerome (*ad Gal.*, i. 1) merely remarks: "usque hodie a patriarchis Judaeorum apostolos mitti" ("to this day apostles are despatched by the Jewish patriarchs"). But our knowledge is extended by Epiphanius, who, in speaking of a certain Joseph (*adv. haer.*, xxx. 4), writes: οὗτος τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀξιωματικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐναρίθμιος ἦν· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι μετὰ τὸν πατριάρχην ἀπόστολοι καλούμενοι, προσεδρεύουσι δὲ τῷ πατριάρχῃ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πολλάκις καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ συνεχῶς διάγουσι, διὰ τὸ συμβουλεύειν καὶ ἀναφέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ τὸν νόμον.[1] He tells (chap. xi.) when this Joseph became an apostle (or, got the εὐκαρπία τῆς ἀποστολῆς), and then proceeds: καὶ μετ' ἐπιστολῶν οὗτος ἀποστέλλεται εἰς τὴν Κιλίκων γῆν· ὃς ἀνελθὼν ἐκεῖσε ἀπὸ ἑκάστης πόλεως τῆς Κιλικίας τὰ ἐπιδέκατα καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ Ἰουδαίων εἰσέπραττεν . . . . ἐπεὶ οὖν, οἷα ἀπόστολος (οὕτως γὰρ παρ'

[1] "He belonged to the order of their distinguished men. These consist of men called 'apostles'; they rank next to the patriarch, with whom they are associated and with whom they often spend whole nights and days taking counsel together and referring to him matters concerning the law."

αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἔφην, τὸ ἀξίωμα καλεῖται), ἐμβριθέστατος καὶ καθαρεύων δῆθεν τὰ εἰς κατάστασιν εὐνομίας, οὕτως ἐπιτελεῖν προβαλλόμενος, πολλοὺς τῶν κακῶν κατασταθέντων ἀρχισυναγώγων καὶ ἱερέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἀζανιτῶν . . . . καθαιρῶν τε καὶ μετακινῶν τοῦ ἀξιώματος ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐνεκοτεῖτο, κ.τ.λ. ("He was despatched with epistles to Cilicia, and on arriving there proceeded to levy from every city of Cilicia the titles and firstfruits paid by the Jews throughout the province. When, therefore, in virtue of his apostleship (for so is this order of men entitled by the Jews, as I have said), he acted with great rigour, forsooth, in his reforms and restoration of good order—*which was the very business before him*—deposing and removing from office many wicked chiefs of the synagogue and priests and presbyters and ministers . . . . he became hated by many people").

Putting together these functions of the "apostles,"[1] we get the following result. (1) They were consecrated persons of a very high rank; (2) they were sent out into the Diaspora to collect tribute for headquarters; (3) they brought encyclical letters with them, kept the Diaspora in touch with the centre and informed of the intentions of the latter (or of the patriarch), received orders relative to any dangerous movement, and had to organize resistance to it; (4) they exercised certain powers of surveillance and discipline in the Diaspora; and (5) on returning to their own country formed a sort of council which aided the patriarch in supervising the interests of the law.

[1] Up till now only one inscription has been discovered which mentions these apostles, viz., the epitaph of a girl of fourteen at Venosa: "quei dixerunt trenus duo apostuli et duo rebbites" (Hirschfeld, *Bullett. dell Instit. di corrisp. archæol.*, 1867, p. 152).

After this one can hardly deny a certain connection between these Jewish apostles and the Christian. It was not simply that Paul[1] and others had hostile relations with them; their very organization afforded a sort of type for the Christian apostleship, great as were the differences between the two. But, one may ask, were not these differences too great? Were not the Jewish apostles just financial officials? Well, at the very moment when the primitive apostles recognized Paul as an apostle, they set him also a financial task (Gal. ii. 10); he was to collect money throughout the Diaspora for the church at Jerusalem. The importance henceforth attached by Paul to this side of his work is well known; on it he spent unceasing care, although it involved him in the sorest vexations, and led finally to his death. Taken by itself, it is not easy to understand exactly how the primitive apostles could impose this task on Paul, and how he could quietly accept it. But the thing becomes intelligible whenever we assume that the church at Jerusalem, together with the primitive apostles, considered themselves the central body of Christendom, and also the representatives of the true Israel. That was the reason why the apostles whom they recognized were intrusted with a duty similar to that imposed on Jewish "apostles," viz., the task of collecting the tribute of the Diaspora. Paul himself would view it, one imagines, in a somewhat different light, but it

[1] Was not Paul himself, in his pre-Christian days [cp. p. 67], a Jewish "apostle"? He bore *letters* which were directed against Christians in the Diaspora, and had assigned to him by the high-priests and Sanhedrin certain disciplinary powers (see Acts viii. 2, xxii. 4 f., xxvi. 10 f., statements which deserve careful attention).

is quite probable that this was how the matter was viewed by the primitive apostles. In this way the connection between the Jewish and the Christian apostles, which on other grounds is hardly to be denied in spite of all their differences, becomes quite evident.[1]

(2) *Prophets.*—The common idea is that prophets had died out in Judaism long before the age of Jesus and the apostles, but the New Testament itself protests against this erroneous idea. Reference may be made especially to John the Baptist, who certainly was a prophet and was called a prophet; also to the prophetess Hanna (Luke ii. 36), to Barjesus the Jewish prophet in the retinue of the pro-consul at Cyprus (Acts xiii. 7), and to the warnings against false prophets (Matt. vii. 15, xxiv. 11, 25 = Mark xiii. 22, 1 John iv. 1, 2 Pet. ii. 1). Besides, we are told that the Essenes possessed the gift of prophecy;[2] of Theudas, as of the Egyptian,[3] it is said, προφήτης ἔλεγεν εἶναι ("he alleged himself to be a prophet," Joseph., *Antiq.*, xx. 5. 1); Josephus the historian played the prophet openly and successfully before Vespasian;[4]

[1] We do not know whether there were also "apostles" among the disciples of John—that narrow circle of the Baptist which, as the gospels narrate, was held together by means of fasting and special prayers; we merely know that adherents of this circle existed in the Diaspora (at Alexandria: Acts xviii. 24 f., and Ephesus: Acts xix. 1 f.). Apollos (see above, p. 401) would appear to have been originally a regular missionary of John the Baptist's movement; but on this whole incident the narrative of Acts is singularly coloured and obscure.

[2] Cp. Josephus' *Wars*, i. 3. 5, ii. 7. 3, 8. 12; *Antiq.*, xiii. 11. 2, xv. 10. 5, xvii. 3. 3.

[3] Acts xxi. 38; Joseph., *Antiq.*, xx. 8. 6; *Wars*, ii. 13. 5.

[4] *Wars*, iii. 8. 9; cp. Suet., *Vespas.* v., and *Dio Cass.*, lxvi. 1.

Philo called himself a prophet; and in the Diaspora we hear of Jewish interpreters of dreams, and prophetic magicians.[1] What is still more significant, the wealth of Jewish apocalypses, oracular utterances and so forth, which existed at this period, shows that, so far from being extinct, prophecy was in luxuriant bloom, and also that prophets were numerous, and secured both adherents and readers. There were very wide circles of Judaism who cannot have felt any surprise when a prophet appeared: John the Baptist and Jesus were hailed without further ado as prophets, and the imminent return of ancient prophets was an article of faith.[2] From its earliest awakening, then,

[1] Cp. Hadrian, *ep. ad Servian.* (Vopisc., *Saturn.* viii.).—One cannot, of course, cite the gospel of pseudo-Matthew, ch. xiii. ("et prophetae qui fuerant in Jerusalem dicebant hanc stellam indicare nativitatem Christi"), since the passage is merely a late paraphrase of the genuine Matthew.

[2] Only it is quite true that the Sadducees wanted to have nothing to do with prophets, and that a section of the strict upholders of the law would no longer hear of anything ranking beside the law. It stands to reason also that the priests and their party did not approve of prophets. After the completion of the canon there must have been a semi-official doctrine to the effect that the prophets were complete ("completo numero"); the book of Daniel was no longer placed among the prophets, and the later apocalypses were no longer admitted at all into the canon. Josephus is undoubtedly repeating a widely-spread opinion when he maintains that the "succession of the prophets" is at an end (*Apion.*, i. 8; cp. also Euseb., *H.E.*, iii. 10. 4: "From the time of Artaxerxes to our own day all the events have been recorded, but they do not merit the same confidence as we repose in the events that preceded them, since there has not been during this time an exact succession of prophets"—ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα, πίστεως δ' οὐχ ὁμοίας ἠξίωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχήν). Julian *c. Christ.*, 198 C: τὸ παρ' Ἑβραίοις [προφητικὸν πνεῦμα] ἐπέλιπεν ("the prophetic spirit failed among the Hebrews").

Christian prophecy was no novelty, when formally considered, but a phenomenon which readily co-ordinated itself with similar contemporary phenomena in Judaism. In both cases, too, the high value attached to the prophets follows as a matter of course, since they are the voice of God; recognized as genuine prophets, they possess an absolute authority in their preaching and counsels. They were not merely deemed capable of miracles, but even expected to perform them. It even seemed credible that a prophet could rise from the dead by the power of God; Herod and a section of the people were of opinion that Jesus was John the Baptist *redivivus* (see also Rev. xi. 11).[1]

(3) *Teachers.*—No words need be wasted on the importance of the scribes and teachers in Judaism, particularly in Palestine; but in order to explain historically the prestige claimed and enjoyed by the Christian διδάσκαλοι it is necessary to allude to the prestige of the Jewish teachers. "The rabbis claimed from their pupils the most unqualified reverence, a reverence which was to exceed even that paid to father and mother." "Let esteem for thy friend border on respect for thy teacher, and respect for thy teacher on reverence for God." "Respect for a teacher surpasses respect for a father; for son and father alike owe respect to a teacher." "If a man's father and teacher have lost anything, the teacher's

[1] The saying of Jesus, that all the prophets and the law prophesied until John (Matt. xi. 13), is very remarkable (see below); he appears to have been thinking of the cessation of prophecy, probably owing to the nearness of the end. But the word also admits of an interpretation which does not contemplate the cessation of prophecy.

loss has the prior claim; for while his father has only brought the man into the world, his teacher has taught him wisdom and brought him to life in the world to come. If a man's father and teacher are bearing burdens, he must help the teacher first, and then his father. If father and teacher are both in captivity, he must ransom the teacher first." As a rule the rabbis claimed everywhere the highest rank. "They love the uppermost places at feasts and the front seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the market-place, and to be called by men 'rabbi'" (Matt. xxiii. 6 f. and parallel passages). "Their very dress was that of people of quality."[1]

Thus the three members of the Christian group—apostles, prophets, teachers—were already to be met with in contemporary Judaism, where they were individually held in very high esteem. Still they were not grouped together, otherwise the prophets would have been placed in a more prominent position. The grouping of these three classes, and the special development of the apostleship, were the work of the Christian church.

III.

As we are essaying a study of the missionaries and teachers, let us take the Didachê into consideration.[2]

In the fourth chapter, where the author gathers up the special duties of Christians as members of the church, this counsel is put forward as the first

[1] Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes,* II.[3] pp. 317 f. (Eng. trans., II. i. 317).

[2] In what follows I have drawn upon the section in my larger edition of the Didachê (1884), which occupies pp. 93 f.

commandment: *τέκνον μοῦ, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν* ("My son, thou shalt remember him that speaketh to thee the word of God by night and day; thou shalt honour him as the Lord. For whencesoever the lordship is lauded, there is the Lord present").[1] As is plain from the whole book (particularly from what is said in chap. xv. on the bishops and deacons), the writer knew only *one* class of people who were to be honoured in the church, viz., those alone who preached the word of God in their capacity of *ministri evangelii*.[2]

But who are those *λαλοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ* in the Didachê? Not permanent, elected officials of an individual church, but primarily independent teachers who ascribed their calling to a divine command or charism. Among them we distinguish (1) apostles, (2) prophets, and (3) teachers. These preachers, at the time when the author wrote, and for the circle of

[1] Compare the esteem above mentioned in which the Jews held their teachers. Barnabas (xix. 9–10), in a passage parallel to that of the Didachê, writes: *ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον κυρίου, μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας*: ("Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye everyone who speaks to thee the word of the Lord; night and day shalt thou remember the day of judgment").

[2] The author of Hebrews also depicts the *ἡγούμενοι* more closely, thus: *οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ* (xiii. 7). The expression *ἡγούμενοι* or *προηγούμενοι* (see also Heb. xiii. 17), which had a special vogue in the Roman church, although it is not unexampled elsewhere, did not become a technical expression in the primitive age; consequently it is often impossible to make out in any particular case who are meant by it, whether bishops or teachers.

churches with which he was familiar, were in the first place the regular missionaries of the gospel (apostles), in the second place the men who ministered to edification, and consequently supported the spiritual life of the churches (prophets and teachers).[1]

(1) *They were not elected by the churches*, as were bishops and deacons alone (xv. 1, *χειροτονήσατε ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους*). In 1 Cor. xii. 28 we read: *καὶ οὓς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους* (cp. Ephes. iv. 11: *καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν τοὺς μὲν ἀποστόλους, τοὺς δὲ προφήτας, τοὺς δὲ εὐαγγελιστάς, τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους*). The early source incorporated in Acts xiii. gives an excellent idea of the way in which this divine appointment is to be understood in the case of the apostles. In that passage we are told how after prayer and fasting five prophets and teachers resident in the church at Antioch (Barnabas, Simeon, Lucius, Manäen, and Saul) received instructions from the holy Spirit to despatch Barnabas and Saul as missionaries or apostles. We may assume that in other cases also the apostles could fall back on such an exceptional commission.[2] The prophets were authenticated by

[1] According to chap. xv., bishops and deacons merely belong to the second class, in so far as they take the place of prophets and teachers in the work of edifying the church by means of oral instruction.

[2] In the epistles to Timothy, Timothy is represented as an "evangelist," *i.e.*, as an apostle of the second class, but he is also the holder of a charismatic office. Consequently we find in I. i. 18 these words: *ταύτην τὴν παραγγελίαν παρατίθεμαί σοι, τέκνον Τιμόθεε, κατὰ τὰς προαγούσας ἐπὶ σὲ προφητείας*; and in iv. 14, the following: *μὴ ἀμέλει τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος, ὃ ἐδόθη σοι διὰ προφητείας [μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου]*.

what they delivered in the form of messages from the holy Spirit, in so far as these addresses proved spiritually effective. But it is impossible to determine exactly how people were recognized as teachers. One clue seems visible, however, in Jas. iii. 1, where we read: *μὴ πολλοὶ διδάσκαλοι γίνεσθε, εἰδότες ὅτι μεῖζον κρίμα λημψόμεθα.* From this it follows that to become a teacher was a matter of personal choice—based, of course, upon the individual consciousness of possessing a charisma. The teacher also ranked as one who had received the holy Spirit[1] for his calling; whether he was a genuine teacher (*Did.*, xiii. 2) or not, was a matter which, like the genuineness of the prophets (*Did.*, xi. 11, xiii. 1), had to be decided by the churches. Yet they merely verified the existence of a divine commission; they did not in the slightest degree confer any office by their action. As a rule the particular duties which apostles and prophets had to discharge (see below), formed a natural barrier against the intrusion of a crowd of interlopers into the office of the preacher or the missionary.

(2) *The distinction of "apostles, prophets,* and *teachers" is very old, and was common in the earliest period of the church.* The author of the Didachê presupposes that apostles, prophets, and teachers were known to all the church. In xi. 7 he specially mentions

[1] This may probably be concluded even from 1 Cor. xiv. 26, where *διδαχή* follows *ἀποκάλυψις*, and it is made perfectly clear by Hermas, who not only is in the habit of grouping *ἀπόστολοι* and *διδάσκαλοι*, but also (*Sim.*, ix. 25. 2) writes thus of the apostles and teachers: "They taught the word of God soberly and purely . . . . even as also they had received the holy Spirit" (*διδάξαντες σεμνῶς καὶ ἁγνῶς τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ . . . . καθὼς καὶ παρέλαβον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*).

prophets; in xii. 3 f. he names apostles and prophets, conjoining in xiii. 1-2 and xvi. 1-2 prophets and teachers (never apostles and teachers: unlike Hermas). The inference is that although this order — "apostles, prophets and teachers"—was before his mind, the prophets and apostles formed in certain aspects a category by themselves, while in other aspects the prophets had to be ranked with the teachers (see below). This order is identical with that of Paul (1 Cor. xii. 28), so that its origin is to be pushed back to the sixth decade of the first century; in fact, it goes back to a still earlier period, for in saying οὓς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, κ.τ.λ., Paul is thinking without doubt of some arrangement in the church which held good among Jewish Christian communities founded without his co-operation, no less than among the communities of Greece and Asia Minor. This assumption is confirmed by Acts xi. 27, xv. 22, 32, and xiii. 1 f. In the first of these passages we read of *prophets* who had migrated from the Jerusalem-church to the Antiochene;[1] the third passage implies that five men, who are described as *prophets* and *teachers*, occupied a special position in the church at Antioch, and that two of their number were elected by them as apostles at the injunction of the Spirit (see above).[2] Thus the

[1] On a temporary visit. One of them, Agabus, was permanently resident in Judæa about fifteen years later, but journeyed to meet Paul at Cæsarea in order to bring him a piece of prophetic information (Acts xxi. 10 f.).

[2] From the particles employed in the passage, it is probable that Barnabas, Simeon, and Lucius were the prophets, while Manäen and Saul were the teachers. One prophet and one teacher were thus despatched as apostles. As the older man, Barnabas at first

apostolic calling was not necessarily involved in the calling to be a prophet or teacher, but required for itself a further special injunction of the Spirit. From Acts xiii. 1 f. the order—"apostles, prophets, teachers"—follows indirectly but quite evidently; we have therefore evidence for it (as the notice may be considered historically trustworthy) in the earliest Gentile church and at a time which was probably not even one decade removed from the year of Paul's conversion.

A century may have elapsed between the event recorded in Acts xiii. 1 f. and the final editing of the Didachê. But intermediate stages are not lacking. First, we have the evidence of 1 Cor. (xii. 28),[1] with two witnesses besides in Ephesians (whose evidence is all the more weighty, if the epistle is not genuine) and Hermas. Yet neither of these witnesses is of supreme importance, inasmuch as both fail to present in its pristine purity the old class of the

took the lead (his prophetic gift may be gathered from the name assigned to him, "Barnabas" = *υἱὸς παρακλήσεως* [Acts iv. 36]; for in 1 Cor. xiv. 3 we read, *ὁ προφητεύων ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖ παράκλησιν*).

[1] Observe that after enumerating apostles, prophets, and teachers, Paul does not proceed to give any further category of persons with charismatic gifts, but merely adds charismatic gifts themselves; note further that he gives no classification of these gifts, but simply arranges them in one series with a double *ἔπειτα*, whereas the apostles, prophets, and teachers are enumerated in order with *πρῶτον*, *δεύτερον*, and *τρίτον*. The conclusion is that the apostolate, the prophetic office (not, speaking with tongues), and teaching, were the only offices which made their occupants persons of rank in the church, whilst the *δυνάμεις*, *ἰάματα*, *ἀντιλήμψεις*, κ.τ.λ., conferred no special standing on those gifted with such charismata. With Paul, too, it is therefore the preaching of God's word which constitutes a position in the *ἐκκλησία* of God. This agrees exactly with the view of the author of the Didachê.

regular λαλοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ as apostles, prophets, and teachers; both point to a slight modification of this class, owing to the organization of individual churches, complete within themselves, which had grown up on other bases.

Like Did. xi. 3, Eph. ii. 20 and iii. 5 associate apostles and prophets, and assign them an extremely high position. All believers, we are told, are built up on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, to whom, in the first instance, is made the revelation of the secret that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs of the promise of Christ. That prophets of the gospel, and not of the Old Testament, are intended here is shown both by the context and by the previous mention of apostles. Now in the list at iv. 11 the order "apostles, prophets, and teachers" is indeed preserved, but in such a way that "evangelists" are inserted after "prophets," and "pastors" added to "teachers" (preceding them, in fact, but constituting with them a single group or class).[1] From these intercalated words it follows (1) that the author (or Paul) knew missionaries who did not possess the dignity of apostles,[2] but that he did not place them immediately after the apostles, inasmuch as the collocation of "apostles and prophets" was a sort of *noli me tangere* (not so the collocation of "prophets and teachers"); (2) that he reckoned the leaders of an *individual church* (ποιμένες) among the preachers bestowed

[1] It does not follow that the "teachers" are to be considered identical with the "pastors," because τοὺς δὲ does not immediately precede διδάσκαλους. The inference is merely that Paul or the author took both as comprising a single group.

[2] I have already tried (p. 401) to explain why exactly evangelists are mentioned in Ephesians.

upon *the church* as a whole (the individual church in this way made its influence felt); (3) that he looks upon the teachers as persons belonging to a *definite* church, as is evident from the close connection of teachers with ποιμένες and the subsequent mention (though in collocation) of the former. The difference between the author of Ephesians and the author of the Didachê on these points, however, ceases to have any significance if one observes two things:—(*a*) first, that even the latter places the ποιμένες (ἐπίσκοποι) of the individual church side by side with the teachers, and seeks to have like honour paid to them (xv. 1–2); and secondly (*b*), that he makes the permanent domicile of teachers in an individual church (xiii. 2) the rule, as opposed to any special appointment (whereas, with regard to prophets, domicile would appear, from xiii. 1, to have been the exception). It is certainly obvious that the Didachê's arrangement approaches more nearly than that of Ephesians to the arrangement given by Paul in Corinthians, but it would be more than hasty to conclude that the Didachê must therefore be older than the former epistle. We have already seen that the position of the narrower conception of the apostolate side by side with the broader, is very early, and that the latter, instead of being simply abandoned, advanced for a time with the former. Furthermore, it is to be recollected, passages like Acts xiii. 1, xi. 27, xxi. 10, etc., prove that although the prophets, and especially the teachers, had to serve the whole church with their gifts, they could possess, even in the earliest age, a permanent residence and were also members of a definite community, either permanently

or for a considerable length of time. Hence at an early period they could be viewed in this particular light, without prejudice to their function as teachers who were assigned to the church in general.

As for Hermas, the most surprising observation suggested by the book is that the prophets are never mentioned, for all its enumeration of classes of preachers and superintendents in Christendom.[1] In consequence of this, apostles and teachers (ἀπόστολοι and διδάσκαλοι) are usually conjoined.[2] Now, as Hermas comes forward in the rôle of prophet, as his book contains one large section (*Mand.* xi.) dealing expressly with false and genuine prophets, and finally as the career of the genuine prophet is more forcibly emphasized in Hermas than in any other early Christian writing and presupposed to be universal, the absence of any mention of the prophet in the "hierarchy" of Hermas must be held to have been deliberate. In short, *Hermas passed over the prophets because he reckoned himself one of them.* If this inference be true—and I do not see how it can be evaded—we are justified in supplying "prophets"

[1] In *Sim.* ix. 15. 4*a* Old Testament prophets are meant.

[2] Cp. *Sim.* ix. 15. 4*b*: οἱ δὲ μ΄ ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ("the forty are apostles and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God"); 16. 5: οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι οἱ κηρύξαντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ("the apostles and teachers who preached the name of the Son of God"); 25. 2: ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι οἱ κηρύξαντες εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον καὶ οἱ διδάξαντες σεμνῶς καὶ ἁγνῶς τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου ("apostles and teachers who preached to all the world, and taught soberly and purely the word of the Lord"). *Vis.*, III. v. i. (see below) is also relevant in this connection. Elsewhere the collocation of "ἀπόστολος, διδάσκαλος" occurs only in the Pastoral epistles (1 Tim. ii. 7, 2 Tim. i. 11); but these passages prove nothing, as Paul either is or is meant to be the speaker.

wherever Hermas names "apostles and teachers," so that he too becomes an indirect witness to the threefold group of "apostles, prophets, teachers."[1] In that case the conception expounded in the ninth similitude of the "Shepherd" is exactly parallel to that of the man who wrote the Didachê. Apostles (prophets) and teachers are the preachers appointed by God to establish the spiritual life of the churches, and they are joined first of all (chapters xxv.–xxvii.) by the bishops and deacons.[2] On the other hand, the author alters this order in *Vis.*, III. v. 1., where he writes:[3] *οἱ μὲν οὖν λίθοι οἱ τετράγωνοι καὶ λευκοὶ καὶ συμφωνοῦντες ταῖς ἁρμογαῖς αὐτῶν, οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ἀπόστολοι* (add *καὶ προφῆται*) *καὶ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διδάσκαλοι καὶ διάκονοι οἱ πορευθέντες κατὰ τὴν σεμνότητα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπισκοπήσαντες καὶ διδάξαντες καὶ διακονήσαντες ἁγνῶς καὶ σεμνῶς τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, οἱ μὲν κεκοιμημένοι, οἱ δὲ ἔτι ὄντες.* According to the author of the Didachê also, the *ἐπίσκοποι* and *διάκονοι* are to be added to the *ἀπόστολοι*, *προφῆται*, and *διδάσκαλοι*, but the difference between the two writers is that Hermas has put the bishops, just as the author of Ephesians has put the *ποιμένες*, before the teachers. The reasons for this are unknown to us; all we can ascertain is that at this point also the

[1] Hermas, like the author of the Didachê, knows nothing about "evangelists" as distinguished from "apostles"; he, too, uses the term "apostle" in its wider sense (see above, p. 407).

[2] In conformity with a certain point of view which is implied in the parable, the order is reversed in chapters xxiv.–xxviii.; for the proper order, see *Vis.*, III. v. 1.

[3] "The squared white stones that fit together in their joints, are the apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons who walked after the holiness of God and acted as bishops, teachers, and deacons, purely and soberly for the elect of God. Some have already fallen asleep, and others are still living."

actual organization of the individual communities had already modified that conception of the organization of the collective church which Hermas shared with the author of the Didachê.[1]

Well then; one early source of Acts, Paul, Hermas, and the author of the Didachê, all attest the fact that in the earliest Christian churches "those who spoke the word of God" (the λαλοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ) occupied the highest position,[2] and that they were subdivided into apostles, prophets, and teachers. They also bear evidence to the fact that these apostles, prophets, and teachers were not esteemed as officials of an individual community, but were honoured as preachers who had been appointed by God and assigned to the church *as a whole*. The notion that the regular preachers in the church were *elected* by the different churches, is as erroneous as the other idea that they had their "office" transmitted to them through a human channel of some kind or another.

Finally, we have to consider more precisely the bearings of what has already been observed, viz., that to judge from the consistent testimony of the earliest records, the apostles, prophets, and teachers were allotted and belonged, not to any individual community, but to the church as a whole. By means of this feature Christendom possessed, amid all its

[1] It is to be observed, moreover, that *Sim.* ix. speaks of apostles and teachers as of a bygone generation, whilst *Vis.* iii. declares that one section of the whole group have already fallen asleep, while the rest are still alive. We cannot, however, enter into further details upon the important conceptions of Hermas.

[2] So, too, the author of Hebrews. Compare also 1 Pet. iv. 11: εἴ τις λαλεῖ, ὡς λόγια θεοῦ· εἴ τις διακονεῖ, ὡς ἐξ ἰσχύος ἧς χορηγεῖ ὁ θεός [a passage which illustrates the narrative in Acts vi.].

scattered fragments, a certain cohesion and a bond of unity, which has often been underestimated. These apostles and prophets, wandering from place to place, and received by every community with the utmost respect, help to explain to us how the development of the church in different provinces and under very different conditions could preserve, as it did, such a degree of homogeneity. Nor have they left their traces merely in the scanty records, where little but their names are mentioned, and where witness is borne to the respect in which they were held. In a far higher degree their evidence appears throughout a whole *genre* of early Christian literature, namely, *the so-called catholic epistles and writings.* It is impossible to understand the origin, spread, and vogue of a literary *genre* so peculiar and in many respects so enigmatic, unless one correlates it with what is known of the early Christian "apostles, prophets, and teachers." When one considers that these men were set by God within the *church—i.e.*, in Christendom as a whole, and not in any individual community, their calling being meant for *the church collective*—it becomes obvious that the so-called catholic epistles and writings, addressed to the whole of Christendom, form a *genre* in literature which corresponds to these officials, a *genre* which must have arisen at a comparatively early period. An epistle like that of James, addressed "to the twelve tribes of the dispersion," with its prophetic passages (iv.–v.), its injunctions uttered even to presbyters (iv. 14), and its emphatic assertions (v. 15 f.), this epistle, which cannot have come from the apostle James himself, becomes intelligible so soon as we think of the wandering prophets who were conscious of a

divine calling which led them to all Christendom, and who consequently felt themselves bound to serve the church as a whole. We can well understand how catholic epistles must have won great prestige, even although they were not originally distinguished by the name of any of the twelve apostles.[1] Behind these epistles stood the teachers called by God, who were to be reverenced like the Lord himself. It would lead us too far afield to follow up this view, but one may refer to the circulation and importance of certain "catholic" epistles throughout the churches, and to the fact that they determined the development of Christianity in the primitive period hardly less than the Pauline epistles. During the closing decades of the first century, and at the opening of the second, the extraordinary activity of these apostles, prophets, or teachers, has left a lasting memorial of itself in the "catholic" writings; to which we must add other productions like the "Shepherd" of Hermas, composed by an author of whom we know nothing except the fact that his revelations were to be communicated to *all* the churches. He is really not a *Roman* prophet; being a prophet, he is a teacher for Christendom *as a whole*.

It has been remarked, not untruly, that Christendom came to have *church officials* only after the episcopate

[1] This period, of course, was past and gone, when one of the charges levelled at the Montanist Themison was that he had written a catholic epistle and thus invaded the prerogative of the original apostles: see Apollonius (in Euseb., *H.E.*, v. 18. 5)—Θεμίσων ἐτόλμησε, μιμούμενος τὸν ἀπόστολον, καθολικήν τινα συνταξάμενος ἐπιστολὴν κατηχεῖν τοὺς ἄμεινον αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκότας ("Themison ventured, in imitation of the apostles, to compose a catholic epistle for the instruction of people whose faith was better than his own").

had been explained as an organization intended to perpetuate the apostolate, so that every bishop was held, not simply to occupy an office in the particular community, but to rank as a bishop of the catholic church (and, in this sense, to be a follower of the apostles). This observation is correct. But it has to be supplemented by the following consideration, that in the earliest age special forms of organization did arise which in *one* aspect afford an analogy to ecclesiastical office in later catholicism. For "those who spake the word of God" (the λαλοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ) were catholic teachers (διδάσκαλοι καθολικοί).[1] Yet even

[1] I shall at this point put together the evidence and sources of the threefold group.

(1) The λαλοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ (and they alone at first, it would appear; *i.e.*, apostles, prophets, and teachers) are the ἡγούμενοι or τετιμήμενοι in the churches; this follows from (*a*) Did., iv. 1, xi. 3 f., xiii., xv. 1–2, when taken together; also (*b*) from Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24, where the ἡγούμενοι are expressly described as λαλοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ; probably (*c*) from *Clem. Rom.*, i. 3, xxi. 6; (*d*) from Acts xv. 22, 32, where the same persons are called ἡγούμενοι and then προφῆται; and (*e*) from the "Shepherd" of Hermas.

(2) Apostles, prophets, and teachers: cp. Paul (1 Cor. xii. 28 f., where he tacks on δυνάμεις, χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων, ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις, γένη γλωσσῶν). When the fathers allude to this passage during later centuries, they do so as if the threefold group still held its own, oblivious often of the presence of the hierarchy. Novatian, after speaking of the apostles who had been comforted by the Paraclete, proceeds (*de trinit.* xxix.): "Hic est qui prophetas in ecclesia constituit, magistros erudit" ("This is he who places prophets in the church and instructs teachers"). Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.*, xviii. 27) will recognize no officials as essential to the church, not even bishops, except the persons mentioned in the above passage. Ambrose (*Hexaëm*, iii. 12, 50) writes: "God has girt the vine as it were with a trench of heavenly precepts and the custody of angels; . . . he has set in the church as it were a tower of apostles, prophets, and teachers, who are wont to safeguard the peace of the

when these primitive teachers were slowly disappearing, a development had commenced which ended in the triumph of the monarchical episcopate, *i.e.*, in the recognition of the apostolic and catholic significance attaching to the episcopate. The preliminary stages in this development may be distinguished wherever in Ephesians, Hermas, and the Didachê the per-

church" ("Circumdedit enim vineam velut vallo quodam caelestium praeceptorum et angelorum custodia . . . . posuit in ecclesia velut turrim apostolorum et prophetarum atque doctorum, qui solent pro ecclesiae pace praetendere"; see *in Ps.* cxviii., *Sermo* xxii., ch. 15). Vincent of Lerin. (*Commonit.* 37, 38) speaks of false apostles, false prophets, false teachers; in ch. 40, where one expects to hear of bishops, only apostles and prophets and teachers are mentioned. Paulinus of Nola (*Opera*, ed. Hartel, i. p. 411 f.) addressed an inquiry to Augustine upon apostles, prophets and teachers, evangelists and pastors. He remarks very significantly: "In omnibus his diversis nominibus simile et prope unum doctrinae officium video fruisse tractatum" ("Under all these different names I see that a like and almost identical order of doctrine has been preserved"), and rightly assumes that the prophets cannot be those of the Old Testament, but must be Christian prophets.

(3) Prophets and teachers, who select apostles from their number (Acts xiii. 1).

(4) Apostles, prophets, and teachers: the Didachê (adding bishops and deacons).

(5) Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers: Ephes. iv. 11.

(6) Apostles and teachers (prophets being purposely omitted), with bishops and deacons in addition: Hermas, *Sim.* ix.

(7) Apostles (prophets), bishops, teachers, deacons: Hermas, *Vis.* iii.

(8) Apostles, teachers, prophets: *Clem. Hom.*, xi. 35, *μέμνησθε ἀπόστολον ἢ διδάσκαλον ἢ προφήτην.*

(9) Apostles and prophets (the close connection of the two follows at an early period from Matt. x. 41), Rev. xviii. 20 (ii. 2, 20), Ephes. ii. 20, iii. 5, Did., xi. 3. (According to Irenæus, III. ii. 4, John the Baptist was at once a prophet and an apostle: "et prophetae et apostoli locum habuit"; according to Hippolytus,

manent officials of the individual community are promoted to the class of "apostles, prophets, and teachers," or already inserted among them. When this happened, the fundamental condition was provided which enabled the bishops at last to secure the prestige of "apostles, prophets, and teachers." If one looks at 1 Cor. xii. 28, or Did. xiii. ("the prophets are your high-priests"), and then at the passages in Cyprian

de antichr. 50, John the disciple was at once an apostle and prophet). So the opponent of the Alogi, in Epiph., *Haer.* 51, 35, etc.; cp. Didasc., *de charism.* [Lagarde, *Reliq.*, pp. 4, 19 f.]: οἱ προφῆται ἐφ' ἡμῶν προφητεύσαντες οὐ παρεξέτειναν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ("our prophets did not measure themselves with the apostles").

(10) Prophets and teachers: Acts xiii. 1 (2 Pet. ii. 1), Did., xiii. 1–2, xiv. 1–2, pseudo-Clem., *de virg.*, I. 11: "ne multi inter vos sint doctores neque omnes sitis prophetae" (*loc. cit.*, λόγος διδαχῆς ἢ προφητείας ἢ διακονίας). In the later literature, the combination (false prophets and false teachers) still occurs frequently; see, *e.g.*, Orig., *Homil. II. in Ezek.* (Lommatzsch, xiv. pp. 33, 37), and Vincent of Lerin., *loc. cit.* 15. 23. In the pseudo-Clementine Homilies Jesus himself is called "our teacher and prophet."

(11) Apostles and teachers (Hermas): 1 Tim. ii. 7, 2 Tim. i. 11, Clem., *Strom.*, vii. 16. 103: οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοί τε καὶ διδάσκαλοι, *Eclog.* 23.

(12) Polycarp is described in the epistle of his church (xvi. 2) as ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικός, γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας (cp. *Acta Pion.* 1: ἀποστολικὸς ἀνὴρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς γενόμενος). Here the ancient and honourable predicates are conjoined and applied to a "bishop." But it is plain that there was something wholly exceptional in an apostolic and prophetic teacher surviving "in our time." The way in which Eusebius speaks is very noticeable (*Mart. Pal.*, xi. 1): of one group of twelve martyrs he says, they partook of προφητικοῦ τινος ἢ καὶ ἀποστολικοῦ χαρίσματος καὶ ἀριθμοῦ (a prophetic or apostolic grace and number).

(13) Alexander the Phrygian is thus described in the epistle from Lyons (Eus., *H.E.*, v. 1. 49): γνωστὸς σχεδὸν πᾶσι διὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπην καὶ παρρησίαν τοῦ λόγου· ἦν γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἄμοιρος ἀποστολικοῦ χαρίσματος ("Well known to all on account of his love to

and the literature of the following period, where the bishops are extolled as the apostles, prophets, teachers, and high-priests of the *church*, one has before one's eyes the source and the goal of one of the most important developments in early Christianity. In the case of prominent bishops like Polycarp of Smyrna, the end had long ago been anticipated; for Polycarp was honoured by his church and throughout Asia as an "apostolic and prophetic teacher."

God and boldness of speech—for he was not without a share of apostolic grace").

A most admirable proof that the prophets were dedicated to the church as a whole, instead of to any individual congregation (that it was so with the apostles, goes without saying), is furnished by Valentinian circles (*Excerpta ex Theodot.* 24): "The Valentinians declare that the Spirit possessed by each individual of the prophets for service, is poured out on all members of the church; wherefore the tokens of the Spirit, *i.e.*, healing and prophecy, are performed by the church" (*λέγουσιν οἱ Οὐαλεντινιανοὶ ὅτι ὃ κατὰ εἷς τῶν προφητῶν ἔσχεν πνεῦμα ἐξαίρετον εἰς διακονίαν, τοῦτο ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξεχύθη· διὸ καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ πνεύματος ἰάσεις καὶ προφητεῖαι διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιτελοῦνται*). Compare the claims of the Montanist prophets and the history of the "Shepherd" of Hermas in the church.

The passage from the *Eclogues* of Clement, referred to under (11), reads as follows: *ὥσπερ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ὁ σωτὴρ ἐλάλει καὶ ἰᾶτο, οὕτως καὶ πρότερον "διὰ τῶν προφητῶν," νῦν δὲ "διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ διδασκάλων" . . . . καὶ πάντοτε ἄνθρωπον ὁ φιλάνθρωπος ἐνδύεται θεὸς εἰς τὴν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν, πρότερον μὲν τοὺς προφήτας, νῦν δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* ("Even as the Saviour spake and healed through his body, so did He formerly by the prophets and so does He now by the apostles and teachers. . . . Everywhere the God who loves men equips man to save men, formerly the prophets and now the church"). This passage is very instructive; but, as is evident, the old threefold group is already broken up, the prophets being merely admitted and recognized as Old Testament prophets. I leave it an open question whether the *πνευματικοί* of Origen (*de orat.* xxviii.) are connected with our group of teachers. The *τάξις προφητῶν μαρτύρων τε καὶ ἀποστόλων* (Hipp., *de antichr.* 59) is irrelevant in this connection.

As for the origin of the threefold group, we have shown that while its component parts existed in Judaism, their combination cannot be explained from such a quarter. One might be inclined to trace it back to Jesus Christ himself, for he once sent out his disciples as missionaries (apostles), and he seems (according to Matt. x. 41) to have spoken of itinerant preaching prophets whom he set on foot. But the historicity of the latter passage is disputed;[1] Jesus expressly denied the title "teacher" to his disciples (Matt. xxiii. 8); and an injunction such as that implied in the creation of this threefold group does not at all tally with the general preaching of Jesus or with the tenor of his instructions. We must therefore assume that the rise of the threefold group and the esteem in which it was held by the community at Jerusalem (and that from a very early period) were connected with the "Spirit" which possessed the community. Christian prophets are referred to in the context of Acts ii. (cp. verse 18); they made their appearance very soon (Acts iv. 36). Unfortunately we do not know further details, and the real origin of the enthusiastic group of "apostles, prophets, and teachers," is as obscure as that of the ecclesiastical group of "bishops, deacons, and presbyters," or of the much later complex of the so-called inferior orders of the clergy. In every case

[1] I would point, not to the words of Matt. xi. 13 (*πάντες οἱ προφῆται καὶ ὁ νόμος ἕως Ἰωάννου ἐπροφήτευσαν*), since that saying perhaps (see p. 416) covers a new type of prophets, but certainly to the situation in which Matt. x. 40 f. is uttered; the latter seems to presuppose the commencement and continuance of missionary labours.

it is a question of something *consciously* created, which starts from a definite point, although it may have sprung up under pressure exerted by the actual circumstances of the situation.

IV.

The Didachê begins by grouping together apostles and prophets (xi. 3), and directing that *the ordinance of the gospel* is to hold good as regards both of them; but in its later chapters it groups prophets and teachers together and is silent on the apostles. From this it follows, as has been already pointed out, that the prophets had something in common with apostles on the one hand and with teachers on the other. The former characteristic may be inferred from the expression *κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, as well as from the detailed injunctions that follow.[1] The "ordinance of the gospel" can mean only the rules which we read in Mark vi. (and parallels), and this assumption is corroborated by the fact that in Matt. x., which contains instructions for the apostles, itinerant prophets also are mentioned, who are supposed to be penniless. *To be penniless, therefore, was con-*

[1] "Let every apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord. But he shall not remain more than one day, or, if need be two; if he remains for three days, he is a false prophet. And on his departure let the apostle receive nothing but bread, till he finds shelter; if he asks for money, he is a false prophet" (*Πᾶς ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ εἰ μὴ ἡμέραν μίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ᾖ χρεία, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μείνῃ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰ μὴ ἄρτον ἕως οὗ αὐλισθῇ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτῇ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν*, xi. 4–6).

sidered absolutely essential for apostles and prophets. This is also the view of 3 John, Origen, and Eusebius. John remarks that the missionaries wandered about and preached, without accepting anything from pagans. They must therefore have been instructed to "accept" from Christians. Origen (*contra Cels.*, III. ix.) writes: "Christians do all in their power to spread the faith all over the world. Some of them accordingly make it the business of their life to wander not only from city to city but from township to township and village to village, in order to gain fresh converts for the Lord. Nor could one say they do this for the sake of gain, since they often refuse to accept so much as the bare necessities of life; and if necessity drives them sometimes to accept a gift, they are content with getting their most pressing needs satisfied, although many people are ready to give them much more than that. And if at the present day, owing to the large number of people who are converted, some rich men of good position and delicate high-born women give hospitality to the messengers of the faith, will any one venture to assert that some of the latter preach the Christian faith merely for the sake of being honoured? In the early days, when great peril threatened especially the preachers of the faith, such a suspicion could not easily have been entertained; and even at the present day the discredit with which Christians are assailed by unbelievers outweighs any honour that some of their fellow-believers show to them." Eusebius (*H.E.*, iii. 37) writes: "Very many of the disciples of that age (pupils of the apostles), whose heart had been ravished by the divine Word with a burning

love for 'philosophy' [*i.e.*, asceticism], had first fulfilled the command of the Saviour and divided their goods among the needy. Then they set out on long journeys, performing the office of *evangelists*, eagerly striving to preach Christ to those who as yet had never heard the word of faith, and to deliver to them the holy gospels. In foreign lands they simply laid the foundations of the faith. That done, they appointed others as shepherds, entrusting them with the care of the new growth, while they themselves proceeded with the divine grace and co-operation to other countries and to other peoples." See, too, *H.E.*, v. 10. 2, where, in connection with the end of the second century, we read: "There were even yet many evangelists of the word seeking earnestly to use their divinely inspired zeal, after the example of the *apostles*, to increase and build up the divine Word. One of these was Pantænus" (*ἔνθεον ζῆλον ἀποστολικοῦ μιμήματος συνεισφέρειν ἐπ' αὐξήσει καὶ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ θείου λόγου προμηθούμενοι, ὧν εἷς γενόμενος καὶ Πανταῖνος*).[1] The second essential for apostles, laid down by the Didachê side by side with poverty, namely,

[1] The word "evangelist" occurs in Ephes. iv. 11, Acts xxi. 8, 2 Tim. iv. 5, and then in the *Apost. Canons* (ch. 19). Then it recurs in Tertull., *de praescr.* iv., and *de corona*, ix. (Hippol., *de antichr.* 56, calls Luke apostle and evangelist). This proves that any distinction between apostles and evangelists was rarely drawn in the early ages of the church; on the contrary, the apostles themselves were frequently described as *οἱ εὐαγγελισάμενοι* (cp. Gal. i. 8, *Clem. Rom.*, xliii. 1, and Polyc., *epist.* vi. 3; in Barn. viii. 3 the twelve indeed, without the designation of "apostles," are thus described). Eusebius calls the evangelists the imitators of the apostles, but in the earliest period they were held by most people simply to be apostles.

indefatigable missionary activity (no settling down), is endorsed by Origen and Eusebius also.[1]

The Didachê informs us that these itinerant missionaries were still called apostles at the opening of the second century. Origen and Eusebius assure us that they existed during the second century, and Origen indeed knows of such even in his own day; but the name of "apostle" was no longer borne,[2] owing to the heightened reverence felt for the original apostles, and also owing to the idea which gained currency even in the course of the second century, that the original apostles had already preached the gospel to the whole world. This idea prevented any subsequent missionaries from being apostles, since they were no longer the first to preach the gospel to the nations.[3]

We have already indicated how the extravagant valuation of the primitive apostles arose. Their labours were to be looked upon as making amends for the fact that Jesus Christ did not himself labour

[1] Apostles have merely to preach the word; that is literally their one occupation. This conception, which Acts vi. 6 already makes perfectly plain, lasted as long as the era of the actual apostles was remembered. The Abgar-source, transcribed by Eusebius (*H.E.*, i. 13), also ratifies the principle that no apostle was to receive any money, and makes one notable addition to the duties of the apostolate. When Thaddæus was summoned to preach God's word to a small group, he remarked: "I shall say nothing in the meantime, for I am sent to preach the word of God (κηρῦξαι) publicly. But assemble all thy citizens in the morning, and I will preach to them."

[2] It is, of course, merely by way of sarcasm that Cyprian speaks of Novatian's apostles (*ep.* lv. 24).

[3] Naturally Eusebius thus comes into collision with his own conception of the situation: compare ii. 3, iii. 1–4, and iii. 37.

as a missionary in every land. Furthermore, the belief that the world was near its end produced, by a sort of inevitable process, the idea that the gospel had by this time been preached everywhere; for the end could not come until this universal proclamation had been accomplished. On these grounds the prestige of the primitive apostles shot up to so prodigious a height, that their commission to the whole world was put right into the creed.[1] We are no longer in a position nowadays to determine the degree of truth underlying the belief in the apostles' world-wide mission. In any case it must have been extremely slight, and any representation of the twelve apostles as a unity organized for the purpose of world-wide labours among the Gentile churches, is to be

[1] Details in my *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, I.(3) pp. 153–156 [Eng. trans., i. pp. 160 f.; cp. 255]; I shall come back to the legends of the mission in Book IV. Chap. I., but without attempting to exhaust the endless materials; all I shall do is to touch upon them. The most extreme and eccentric allusion to the importance of the twelve apostles occurs in the *Pistis Sophia*, ch. 7 (Schmidt, p. 7), where Jesus says to the twelve: "Be glad and rejoice, for when I set about making the world, I was in command of twelve powers from the very first (as I have told you from the beginning), which I had taken from the twelve saviours (σωτῆρες) of the treasure of light according to the commandment of the first mystery. These, then, I deposited in the womb of your mother, while I entered the world—these that live now in your bodies. For these powers were given to you in the sight of all the world, since ye are to be the deliverers of the world, that ye may be able to endure . . . . the threats of the archons of the world, and the sufferings of the world, your perils and all your persecutions." Compare ch. 8 (p. 9): "Be glad then and rejoice, for ye are blessed above all men on earth, since it is ye who are to be the deliverers of the world." In Clement's *Eclogues* (c. 16) also the apostles are usually called σωτῆρες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ("saviours of men").

relegated without hesitation to the province of legend.[1]

Unfortunately we know next to nothing of any details concerning the missionaries (apostles) and their labours during the second century; their very names are lost, with the exception of Pantænus, the Alexandrian teacher, and his mission to "India" (Eus., *H.E.*, v. 10). Perhaps we should look upon Papylus in the Acts of Carpus and Papylus, as a missionary; for in his cross-examination he remarks: ἐν πάσῃ ἐπαρχία καὶ πόλει εἰσίν μου τέκνα κατὰ θεόν (ch. 32, "in every province and city I have children according to God"). And Attalus in Lyons was probably a missionary also (Eus., *H.E.*, v. i.). Neither of these cases is, however, beyond doubt. If we could attach any value to the romance of Paul and Thecla (in the *Acta Pauli*), *one* name would come up in this connection, viz., that of Thecla, the only woman who was honoured with the title of ἡ ἀπόστολος. But it is extremely doubtful if any basis of fact, apart from the legend itself, underlies the veneration felt for her, although the legend itself *may* contain some nucleus of historic truth.

Yet even though we cannot describe the labours of the apostles during the second century—and by the opening of the third century only stragglers from this class were still to be met with—the creation and the career of this heroic order form of themselves a

[1] It is worth noting that, according to the early Christian idea, the Mosaic law also had spread over the whole world. In their world-wide preaching, the apostles therefore came upon the results produced by that law (see, for example, the statements of Eusebius in the first book of his church-history).

topic of great interest. Their success need not, of course, be overestimated. For, in the first place, we find the Didachê primarily concerned with laying down rules to prevent abuses in the apostolic office; so that by the beginning of the second century, as we are not surprised to learn, it was already found necessary to combat the danger of irregularity. In the second place, had apostles continued to play an important part in the second century, the stereotyped conception of the primitive apostles, with their fundamental and really exhaustive labours in the mission-field, could never have arisen at all or become so widely current. Probably, then, it is not too venturesome to affirm that the church really never had more than two apostles in the true sense of the term, one great and the other small, viz., Paul and Peter—unless perhaps we add John of Ephesus. The chief credit for the spread of Christianity scarcely belongs to those other regular apostles, penniless and itinerant, otherwise we should have heard of them, or at least have learnt their names; whereas even Eusebius was as ignorant about them as we are to-day. The chief credit for the spread of Christianity is due to those who were *not* regular apostles, and also to the "teachers."

V.

Though the prophets, according to the Didachê and other witnesses, had also to be penniless like the apostles, they are not to be reckoned among the regular missionaries. Still, like the teachers, they were indirectly of some moment to the mission, as their charismatic office qualified them for preaching

the word of God, and, indeed, put them in the way of such a task. Their inspired addresses were also listened to by pagans as well as by Christians, and Paul assumes (1 Cor. xiv. 24), not without reason, that the former were specially impressed by the prophet's harangue and by his power of searching the hearer's heart. Down to the close of the second century the prophets retained their position in the church;[1] but the Montanist movement brought early Christian prophecy at once to a head and to an end. Sporadic traces of it are still to be found in later years,[2] but such prophets no longer possessed any significance for the church, and were in fact quite summarily condemned by the clergy as false prophets. Like the apostles, the prophets occupied a delicate and risky position. It was easy for them to degenerate. The injunctions of the Didachê (ch. xi.) indicate the sort of precautions which were considered necessary, even in the opening of the second century, to protect the churches against fraudulent prophets of the type sketched by Lucian in *Proteus Peregrinus*; and the latter volume agrees with the Didachê, inasmuch as it describes Peregrinus in his prophetic capacity as now settled in a church, now itinerating in company with Christians who paid him special honour—for prophets were not tied up to any single church. Nor were even prophetesses awanting; they

[1] Tertullian (*de praescr.* iii.) no longer takes them into account: "Quid ergo, si episcopus, si diaconus, si vidua, si virgo, si doctor, si etiam martyr lapsus a regula fuerit?" ("What if a bishop, a deacon, a widow, a virgin, a teacher, or even a martyr, have fallen away from the rule of faith?").

[2] Cp. Firmilian in Cyprian's *epist.* lxxv. 10.

were to be met with inside the catholic church as well as among the gnostics in particular.[1]

The materials in the way of sources available for a study of the early Christian prophets are extremely voluminous, and the whole subject is bound up with a number of questions which are still unsettled; for example, the relation of the Christian prophets to the numerous categories of the pagan prophets (Egyptian, Syrian, and Greek) who are known to us from the literature descriptive of the period, is a subject which has never yet been investigated.[2] However,

[1] From the Coptic version of the *Acta Pauli* (Paul's correspondence with the Corinthian church) we learn that the prophet of the Corinthian church who is mentioned there was not a man but a woman (named Theone, not Theonas).

[2] As impostors mingled here and there with the prophets, no sharp distinction can have existed. Celsus (Orig., *c. Cels.* VII., ix., xi.) gives an extremely interesting description of the prophets, as follows: —"There are *many* who, though they are people of no vocation, with the utmost readiness, and on the slightest occasion, both within and without the sacred shrines, behave as if they were seized by the prophetic ecstasy. Others, roaming like tramps throughout cities and camps, perform in the same fashion in order to excite notice. Each is wont to cry, each is glib at proclaiming, 'I am God,' 'I am the Son of God' (παῖς θεοῦ), or 'I am the Spirit of God,' 'I have come because the world is on the verge of ruin, and because you, O men, are perishing in your iniquities. But I would save you, and ye shall see me soon return with heavenly power! Blessed is he who now honours me! All others I will commit to everlasting fire, cities and lands and their inhabitants. These who will not now awake to the punishments awaiting them, shall repent and groan in vain one day. But those who believe in me, I will preserve eternally. . . .' These mighty threats are further mixed up with weird, half-crazy and perfectly senseless words, in which not a rational soul can discover any meaning, so obscure and unintelligible they are. Yet the first comer who is an idiot or an impostor, can interpret them to suit his own fancy! . . .

these materials are of no use for our immediate purpose, as no record of the missionary labours of the prophets is extant.

VI.

The Didachê mentions teachers twice (xiii. 2, xv. 1–2), and what is more, as a special class within the churches. Their ministry was the same as that of the prophets, a ministry of the word; consequently they belonged to the "honoured" class, and, like the prophets, could claim to be supported. On the other hand, they were evidently not obliged to be penniless;[1] nor did they wander about, but resided in a particular community.

These statements are corroborated by such passages in our sources (see above, pp. 417 f.) as group apostles, prophets, and teachers together, and further, by a series of separate testimonies which demonstrate that to be a teacher was a vocation in Christianity, and that the teacher enjoyed great repute in the second century, and partly also, as we shall see, in subsequent years. First of all, the frequency with which we find authors protesting that they are not writing in the capacity of teachers (or issuing instructions), proves how serious was the venera-

These so-called prophets, whom more than once I have heard with my own ears, confessed their foibles to me, after I had exposed them, and acknowledged that they had themselves invented their incomprehensible jargon."

[1] When Origen, in the story told by Eusebius (*H.E.*, vi. 3), carried out the gospel saying, not to have two staves, etc., it was a voluntary resolve upon his part. Shortly before that, we are told how he purchased an annuity by selling his books, in order to free himself from all care about a livelihood.

tion paid to a true teacher, and how he was accorded the right of issuing injunctions that were universally valid and authoritative. Thus Barnabas asserts: *ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος ἀλλ' ὡς εἷς ὑμῶν ὑποδείξω* (i. 8, "I am no teacher, but as one of yourselves I will demonstrate"); and again, "Fain would I write many things, but not as a teacher" (*πολλὰ δὲ θέλων γράφειν οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος*, iv. 9).[1] Ignatius explains, *οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν ὡς ὤν τις . . . . προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν ὡς συνδιδασκαλίταις μου* ("I do not command you as if I were somebody . . . . I address you as my schoolfellows," *ad Eph.*, iii. 1)[2]; and Dionysius of Alexandria in the third century still writes (*ep. ad Basil.*): *ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ὡς μετὰ πάσης ἁπλότητος προσῆκον ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις διαλέγεσθαι* ("I speak not as a teacher, but with all the simplicity with which it befits us to address each other").[3] The warning of the epistle of James (iii. 1): *μὴ πολλοὶ διδάσκαλοι γίνεσθε*, proves how this vocation was coveted in the church, a vocation of which Hermas pointedly remarks (*Sim.*, IX. xxv. 2) that its members had received the holy Spirit.[4] Hermas also refers (*Mand.*, IV. iii. 1) to a saying which he

[1] On the other hand, in ix. 9 he writes: *οἶδεν ὁ τὴν ἔμφυτον δωρεὰν τῆς διδαχῆς αὐτοῦ θέμενος ἐν ὑμῖν* ("He knoweth, who hath placed in you the innate gift of his teaching").

[2] Note *διατάσσομαι* in this passage, the term used by Ignatius of the apostles (*Trall.*, iii. 3, *Rom.*, iv. 3; cp. *Trall.*, vii. 1, *τὰ διατάγματα τῶν ἀποστόλων*).

[3] See further, Commodian, *Instruct.*, ii. 22. 15: "Non sum ego doctor, sed lex docet"; ii. 16. 1: "Si quidem doctores, dum exspectant munera vestra aut timent personas, laxant singula vobis; et ego non doceo."

[4] *Διδάσκαλοι οἱ διδάξαντες σεμνῶς καὶ ἁγνῶς τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου. . . . καθὼς καὶ παρέλαβον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.*

had heard from certain teachers with regard to baptism, and which the angel proceeds deliberately to endorse; and this proves that there were teachers of high repute at Rome in the days of Hermas. An elaborate charge to teachers is furnished by the pseudo-Clementine, *epist. de virginitate* (I. 11): "Doctores esse volunt et disertos sese ostendere . . . . neque adtendunt ad id quod dicit [Scriptura]: 'Ne multi inter vos sint doctores, fratres, neque omnes sitis prophetae.' . . . Timeamus ergo iudicium quod imminet doctoribus; grave enim vero iudicium subituri sunt doctores illi, qui docent[1] et non faciunt, et illi qui Christi nomen mendaciter assumunt dicuntque se docere veritatem, at circumcursant et temere vagantur seque exaltant atque gloriantur in sententia carnis suae. . . . Verumtamen si accepisti sermonem scientiae aut sermonem doctrinae aut prophetias aut ministerii, laudetur deus . . . . illo igitur charismate, quod a deo accepisti (sc. *χαρίσματι διδαχῆς*), illo inservi fratribus pneumaticis, prophetis, qui dignoscant dei esse verba ea, quae loqueris, et enarra quod accepisti charisma in ecclesiastico conventu ad aedificationem fratrum tuorum in Christo" ("They would be teachers and show off their learning . . . . and they heed not what the Scripture saith: 'Be not many teachers, my brethren, and be not all prophets.' . . . . Let us therefore dread that judgment which hangs over teachers. For indeed a severe judgment shall those teachers undergo, who teach but do not practise, as

[1] Cp. Did., xi. 10: *προφήτης, εἰ ἃ διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί* ("If a prophet does not practise what he teaches, he is a false prophet").

also those who falsely take on themselves the name of Christ, and say they are speaking the truth, whereas they gad round and wander rashly about and exalt themselves and glory in the mind of their flesh. . . . But if thou hast received the word of knowledge, or of teaching, or of prophecy, or of ministry, let God be praised. . . . Therefore with that spiritual gift received from God, do thou serve thy brethren the spiritual ones, even the prophets who detect that thy words are the words of God; and publish the gift thou hast received in the assembly of the church to edify thy brethren in Christ"). From this passage it is plain that there were still teachers (and prophets) in the churches, that the former ranked below the latter (or had to submit to a certain supervision), and that, as we see from the chapter as a whole, there were gross abuses which had to be dealt with in this order of ministry. As was natural, this order of independent teachers who were in the service of the entire church, produced at an early period prominent individuals who credited themselves with an exceptionally profound knowledge of the δικαιώματα τοῦ θεοῦ (ordinances of God), and consequently addressed themselves, not to all and sundry, but to the advanced or educated, *i.e.*, to any select body within Christendom. *Insensibly the charismatic teaching also passed over into the profane*, and this marked the point at which Christian teachers as an institution had to undergo, and did undergo, a change. It was most natural that within Christianity schools should be founded similar to the numerous contemporary schools which had been established by Greek and Roman philosophers. They might remain imbedded,

as it were, in Christianity; but they might also develop very readily in a sectarian direction, since this divisive tendency beset any school whatsoever. Hence the efforts of itinerant Christian apologists who, like Justin[1] and Tatian[2] set up schools in the larger towns; hence scholastic establishments such as those of Rhodon and the two Theodoti at Rome;[3] hence, above all, the Alexandrian catechetical school, whose origin, of course, lies buried in obscurity.[4] But

[1] Justin's are best known from the *Acta Justini*. He stands with his scholars before the judge Rusticus, who inquires, "Where do you meet?" Justin at first gives an evasive answer; his aim is to avoid any suggestion of the misleading idea that the Christians had a sacred spot for worship. Then, in reply to the urgent demand, "Where dost thou assemble thy scholars?" he declares: *ἐγὼ ἐπάνω μένω τινὸς Μαρτίνου τοῦ Τιμωτίνου βαλανείου, καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον—ἐπεδήμησα δὲ τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει τοῦτο δεύτερον—οὐ γινώσκω ἄλλην τινὰ συνέλευσιν εἰ μὴ τὴν ἐκείνου* ("I stay above a certain Martinus at the Timotinian bath, and during all the time—for this is my second visit to Rome—I know of no other meeting-place but this"). Justin had also a school at Ephesus.

[2] On Tatian's school, which became sectarian, see Iren., i. 28: *οἰήματι διδασκάλου ἐπαρθεὶς . . . . ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα διδασκαλείου συνεστήσατο.* Tatian sprang from Justin's school.

[3] For Rhodon, see Eus., *H.E.*, v. 13 (he sprang from Tatian's school); for the Theodoti, whose school became sectarian and then attempted to transform itself into a church, see Eus., *H.E.*, v. 28. Praxeas, who propagated his doctrine in Asia, Rome, and Carthage, is called a "doctor" by Tertullian.

[4] Cp. Eus., *H.E.*, v. 10: *ἡγεῖτο ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῆς τῶν πιστῶν αὐτόθι διατριβῆς τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας ἀνὴρ ἐπιδοξότατος, ὄνομα αὐτῷ Πανταῖνος, ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους διδασκαλείου τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων παρ' αὐτοῖς συνεστῶτος* ("The school of the faithful in Alexandria was under the charge of a man greatly distinguished for his learning; his name was Pantænus. A school of sacred letters has been instituted there from early days, and still exists"). Jerome (*vir. illust.* 36) remarks: "Alexandriae Marco evangelista instituente semper ecclesiastici fuere doctores" ("There have always been ecclesiastical teachers instituted by Mark the evangelist at Alexandria"); Clem., *Strom.*, I. i. 11.

as a direct counterpoise to the danger of having the church split up into schools, and the gospel given over to the secular culture, the acumen, and the ambition of individual teachers,[1] the consciousness of the church finally asserted its powers, and the word "school" became almost a term of abuse for a separatist ecclesiastical community.[2] Yet the "doctors" (διδάσκαλοι) — I mean the charismatic teachers who were privileged to speak during the service, although they did not belong to the clergy— did not therefore become extinct all at once in the communities; indeed they maintained their position longer than the apostles or the prophets. From the outset they had been free from the "enthusiastic" element which characterized the latter and paved the way for their suppression. Besides, the distinction of "milk" and "strong meat," of different degrees of Christian σοφία, σύνεσις, ἐπιστήμη, and γνῶσις was always indispensable.[3] In consequence of this, the διδάσκαλοι had naturally to remain on in the churches till the bulk of the administrative officials or priests came to possess the qualification of teachers, and

[1] Hermas boasts that the good teachers (*Sim.*, ix. 25. 2) "kept nothing at all back for evil intent"—μηδὲν ὅλως ἐνοσφίσαντο εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν πονηράν: on such teachers as introduced διδαχαὶ ξέναι (strange doctrines), however, see *Sim.*, ix. 19. 2–3, viii. 6. 5; *Vis.*, iii. 7. 1.

[2] The Theodotian church at Rome was dubbed a school by its opponents (cp. Euseb., *H.E.*, v. 28); Hippolytus inveighs against the church of Callistus his opponent, as a διδασκαλεῖον (*Philos.*, ix. 12, p. 458. 9; p. 462. 42); and Rhodon similarly mentions a Marcionite διδασκαλεῖον (Eus., *H.E.*, v. 13. 4).

[3] Cp. the Pauline epistles, Hebrews, Barnabas, etc., also Did. xi. 2.: διδάσκειν εἰς τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γνῶσιν κυρίου ("Teach to the increase of righteousness and the knowledge of the Lord").

until the bishop (together with the presbyters) assumed the task of educating and instructing the church. In several even of the large churches this did not take place till pretty late, *i.e.*, till the second half of the third century, or the beginning of the fourth. Up to that period "teachers" can be traced still here and there. Beside the new and compact organization of the churches (with the bishops, the college of presbyters, and the deacons) these teachers rose like pillars of some ruined edifice which the storm had spared. They did not fit into the new order of things, and it is interesting to notice how they are shifted from one place to another. Tertullian's orders[1] (*de praescr.* iii.) is: "bishop, deacon, widow, virgin, *teacher*, martyr"! Instead of putting the teacher among the clergy, he thus places him among the spiritual heroes, and what is more, assigns him the second place amongst them, next to the martyrs—for the order of the list runs up to a climax. In the *Acta Perpetuae et Felic.*, as well as in the *Acta Saturnini et Dativi* (under Diocletian; cp. Ruinart's *Acta Martyr.*, Ratisbon, 1859, p. 418), both of African origin, we come across the title "presbyter doctor," and from Cyprian (*ep.* xxix.) we must also infer that in some churches the teachers were ranked in the college of presbyters, and entrusted in this capacity with the duty of examining the readers.[2] On the other hand, in the account given

[1] In *de praescr.* xiv. the "doctor" is also mentioned.

[2] Cyprian (*loc. cit.*) also speaks of "doctores audientium," but it is impossible to determine the relationship which he implies between these and the readers. As catechists, the doctors were now and then ranked among the clergy, and, in fact, in the college

by Hippolytus in Epiph., *Hær.* xlii. 2 (an account which refers to Rome in the days of Marcion), the teachers stand beside the presbyters (not inside the college of presbyters): *οἱ ἐπιεικεῖς πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διδάσκαλοι*, a position which is still theirs in Egyptian villages after the middle of the third century. Dionysius of Alexandria (Eus., *H.E.*, vii. 24. 6), speaking of his sojourn in such villages, observes, "I called together the presbyters and teachers of the brethren in the villages" (*συνεκάλεσα τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διδασκάλους τῶν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἀδελφῶν*). As there were no bishops in these localities at that period, it follows that the teachers still shared with the presbyters the chief position in these village-churches.

This item of information reaches us from Egypt; and unless all signs deceive us, we find that in Egypt generally, and especially at Alexandria, the institution of teachers survived longest in juxtaposition with the episcopal organization of the churches (though their right to speak at services of worship had expired; see below). Teachers still are mentioned frequently in the writings of Origen,[1] and what is more, the "doctores" constitute for him, along with the "sacerdotes," quite a special order, parallel to that of priests within the church. He speaks of those "who discharge the office of teachers wisely in our

of presbyters. As against Lagarde, no comma is to be placed in *Clem. Homil.* III. 71 after *πρεσβυτέρους*: *τιμᾶτε πρεσβυτέρους κατηχητάς, διακόνους χρησίμους, χήρας εὖ βεβιωκυίας* (cp. above, p. 196).

[1] And in those of Clement. According to *quis div. salv.* xli., the Christian is to choose for himself a teacher who shall watch over him as a confessor. In *Paed.* III. 12. 97 Clement discusses the difference between a pedagogue and a teacher, placing the latter above the former.

midst" (*c. Cels.*, IV. lxxii.), and of "doctores ecclesiae" (*Hom. XIV. in Gen.*, vol. ii. p. 97). In *Hom. II. in Num.* (vol. ii. p. 278) he remarks: "It often happens that a man of low mind, who is base and of an earthly spirit, creeps up into the high rank of the priesthood or into the chair of the doctorate, while he who is spiritual and so free from earthly ties that he can prove all things, and yet himself be judged by no man—he holds the rank of an inferior minister, or is even left among the common throng" ("Nam saepe accidit, ut is qui humilem sensum gerit et abiectum et qui terrena sapit, *excelsum sacerdotii gradum vel cathedram doctoris insideat*, et ille qui spiritualis est et a terrena conversatione tam liber ut possit examinare omnia et ipse a nemine iudicari, *vel inferioris ministerii* ordinem teneat vel etiam in *plebeia multitudine* relinquatur").[1] In *Hom. VI. in Levit.* (vol. ii. p. 219) we read: "Possunt enim et in ecclesia *sacerdotes et doctores* filios generare sicut et ille qui dicebat (Gal. iv. 19), et iterum alibi dicit (1 Cor. iv. 15). Isti ergo doctores ecclesiae in huiusmodi generationibus procreandis aliquando constrictis femoralibus utuntur et abstinent a generando, cum tales invenerint auditores, in quibus sciant se fructum habere non posse!"[2] These passages from Origen, which might be multiplied (see, *e.g.*, *Hom. II. in Ezek.*

[1] Here "spiritalis" (γνωστικός, πνευματικός) is in contrast to the teachers as well as to the priests. According to Clement of Alexandria the "spiritual" person is apostle, prophet, and teacher, superior to all earthly dignitaries, a view which Origen also embraces.

[2] "For even in the church, priests and doctors can beget children, even as he who wrote Gal. iv. 19, and again in another place 1 Cor. iv. 15. Therefore let such doctors of the church refrain from begetting offspring, when they find an irresponsive audience!"

and *Hom. III.*), show that during the first thirty years of the third century there still existed at Alexandria an order of teachers side by side with the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons. But indeed we scarcely need the writings of Origen at all. There is Origen himself, his life, his lot—and that is the plainest evidence of all. For what was the man himself but a διδάσκαλος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, busy travelling as a teacher upon endless missions, in order to impress true doctrine on the mind, or to safeguard it? What was the battle of his life against that "ambitious" and utterly uneducated bishop Demetrius, but the conflict of an independent teacher of *the church* with the bishop of *an individual community*? And when during this conflict, which ended in a signal triumph for the hierarchy, a negative answer was given to this question among other things, viz., whether the "laity" could give addresses in the church, in presence of the bishops — was not the affirmative answer, which was still given by bishops like Alexander and Theoktistus, who pointed to the primitive usage,[1] simply the final echo of an organiza-

[1] Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 19. Their arguments prove that the right of "laymen" (for the teachers were laymen) to speak at services of worship had become extinct throughout Egypt, Palestine, and most of the provinces, for the two bishops friendly to this proposal had to bring evidence for the practice from a distance, and from comparatively remote churches. They write thus: "Wherever people are to be found who are able to profit the brethren, they are exhorted by the holy bishops to give addresses to the congregation; as, for example, Euelpis has been invited by Neon in Laranda, Paulinus by Celsus in Iconium, and Theodorus by Atticus in Synada, all of whom are our blessed brethren. Probably this has also been done in other places unknown to us." The three persons mentioned in this passage are the last of the "ancient" teachers.

tion of the Christian churches which was older and more venerable than the clerical organization which was already covering all the field? During the course of the third century, the "teachers" were thrust out of the church, *i.e.*, out of the service;[1] some of them may have even been fused with the readers.[2] No doubt, the order of teachers had developed in such a way as to incur at a very early stage the exceptionally serious risk of sharply Hellenizing and thus secularizing Christianity. The διδάσκαλοι of the third century may have been very unlike the διδάσκαλοι who had ranked as associates of the prophets. But Hellenizing was hardly the decisive ground for abolishing the order of teachers in the churches; here, as elsewhere, the change was due to the episcopate with its intolerance of any office that would not submit to its strict control and allow itself to be incorporated in the simple and compact organization of the hierarchy headed by the bishop. After the middle of the third century, not all, but nearly all, the teachers of the church were clerics, and the instruction of the catechumens was undertaken either by the bishop

[1] In this connection reference may perhaps be made to the important statement of Alexander, bishop of Alexandria (in Theodoret's *H.E.*, i. 3), that Lucian remained outside the church at Antioch (ἀποσυνάγωγος) during the régime of three bishops. Lucian was the head of a school.

[2] On this order and office, originally a charismatic one, which under certain circumstances embraced the further duty of explaining the Scriptures, cp. the evidence I have stated in *Texte u. Untersuch.*, ii. 5, pp. 57 f., "On the Origin of the Readership and the other Lower Orders" [Eng. trans. in *Sources of the Apostolic Canons*, by Wheatley and Owen (Messrs A. & C. Black)].

himself or by a presbyter. The organizing of the catechetical system gradually put an end to the office of independent teachers.

The early teachers of the church were missionaries as well;[1] pagans as well as catechumens entered their schools and listened to their teaching. We have definite information upon this point in the case of Justin (see above), but Tatian also delivered his "Address" in order to inform the pagan public that he had become a Christian teacher, and we have a similar tradition of the missionary work done by the heads of the Alexandrian catechetical school in the way of teaching. Origen, too, had pagan hearers whom he instructed in the elements of Christian doctrine (cp. Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 3); indeed, it is well known that even Julia Mamæa, the queen-mother, had him brought to Antioch that she might listen to his lectures (Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 21). Hippolytus also wrote her a treatise, of which fragments have been preserved in a Syriac version. When one lady of quality in Rome was arraigned on a charge of Christianity, her teacher Ptolemæus (*διδάσκαλος ἐκείνης τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενος*) was immediately arrested also

[1] Tertullian complains that the heretical teachers, instead of engaging in mission work, merely tried to win over catholic Christians; cp. *de praescr.*, xlii.: "De verbi autem administratione quid dicam, cum hoc sit negotium haereticis, non ethnicos convertendi, sed nostros evertendi. Iter fit, ut ruinas facilius operentur stantium aedificiorum quam exstructionem iacentium ruinarum" ("But concerning the ministry of the word, what shall I say? for heretics make it their business not to convert pagans but to subvert our people. . . . Thus they can effect the ruin of buildings which are standing more easily than the erection of ruins that lie low"). See also *adv. Marc.*, ii. 1.

(Justin, *Apol.*, II. ii.). In the African *Acta Saturnini et Dativi*, dating from Diocletian's reign, we read (Ruinart's *Acta Mart.*, Ratisbon, 1859, p. 417) the following indictment of the Christian Dativus, laid by Fortunatianus ("vir togatus") with regard to his sister who had been converted to Christianity:—"This is the fellow who during our father's absence, while we were studying here, perverted our sister Victoria, and took her away from the glorious state of Carthage with Secunda and Restituta as far as the colony of Abitini; he never entered our house without beguiling the girls' mind with some wheedling arguments" ("Hic est qui per absentiam patris noster, nobis hic studentibus, sororem nostram Victoriam seducens, hinc de splendidissima Carthaginis civitate una cum Secunda et Restituta ad Abitinensem coloniam secum usque perduxit, quique nunquam domum nostram ingressus est, nisi tunc quando quibusdam persuasionibus puellares animos illiciebat"). Round this point also revolved the whole activity of the Christian apologists, and although we are ignorant of the details, we can hardly venture to minimize their success.[1] They also

[1] It was the task of apologists and teachers to exhibit the Christian faith in its various stages, and to prove it. Rhodon (Eus., *H.E.*, v. 13) says of the gnostic Apelles: διδάσκαλος εἶναι λέγων οὐκ ἤδει τὸ διδασκόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κρατύνειν ("though calling himself a teacher, he knew not how to confirm what he taught"). "Non difficile est doctori," says Cyprian (*ep.* lxxiii. 3), "vera et legitima insinuare et qui haeretica pravitate damnata et ecclesiastica veritate comperta ad hoc venit ut discat, ad hoc discit ut vivat" ("It is not hard for a teacher to instil what is true and genuine into the mind of a man who, having condemned heretical evil and learnt the church's truth, comes to learn, and learns in order that he may live"). Everyone knows the importance of apologetic to the propaganda of Judaism, and Christians entered on a rich inherit-

engage in public discussions with pagans (Justin, *Apol.* II., and the Cynic philosopher Crescens; Minucius Felix and Octavius) and Jews (Justin, *Dial. with Trypho*; Tertull., *adv. Jud.* i.). In their writings they claim the right of speaking in the name of God and truth; and although (strictly speaking) they do not belong to the charismatic teachers, they describe themselves as "taught of God."[1]

The schools established by these teachers could only be regarded by the public and the authorities as philosophic schools; indeed the apologists declared themselves to be philosophers[2] and their doctrine a philosophy,[3] consequently they participated here and there in the advantages enjoyed by philosophic schools, particularly in the freedom of movement they pos-

ance at this and at other points, since their teachers were able to take over the principles and material of Jewish apologetic. Directly or indirectly, most of the Christian apologists probably depended on Philo and the apologetic volumes of selections made by Alexandrian Judaism.

[1] Compare, *e.g.*, Aristides, *Apol.* ii.: "God himself granted me power to speak about Him wisely." Diogn., *ep.* 1: *τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν ἡμῖν χορηγοῦντος αἰτοῦμαι δοθῆναι ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰπεῖν οὕτως, κ.τ.λ.* ("God, who supplies us both with speech and hearing, I pray to grant me utterance so as," etc.).

[2] Some of them even retained the mantle of the philosopher; at an early period in the church Justin was described as "philosopher and martyr."

[3] Τί γάρ, says Justin's (*Dial. c. Tryph.* i.) Trypho, *à propos* of contemporary philosophy, *οὐχ οἱ φιλόσοφοι περὶ θεοῦ τὸν ἅπαντα ποιοῦνται λόγον, καὶ περὶ μοναρχίας αὐτοῖς καὶ προνοίας αἱ ζητήσεις γίγνονται ἑκάστοτε; ἢ οὐ τοῦτο ἔργον ἐστὶ φιλοσοφίας, ἐξετάζειν περὶ τοῦ θειού;* ("Why not? do not the philosophers turn all their discourses upon the subject of God, and are they not always engaged in questions about his sole rule and providence? Is not this the very business of philosophy, to inquire concerning the Godhead?").

sessed. This never can have lasted any time, however. Ere long the Government was compelled to note that the preponderating element in these schools was not scientific but practical, and that they were the outcome of the illegal "religio Christiana."[1]

VII.

"Plures efficimur quotiens metimur a vobis; semen est sanguis Christianorum . . . . illa ipsa obstinatio, quam exprobratis magistra est"—so Tertullian cries to the authorities (*Apol.* l.: "The oftener we are mown down by you, the larger grow our numbers. The blood of Christians is a seed. . . . That very obstinacy which you reprobate, is our instructress"). The most numerous and successful missionaries of the Christian religion were not the regular teachers but Christians themselves, by dint of their loyalty and courage. How little we hear of the former and their results! how much of the effects produced by the latter! Above all, every confessor and martyr was

[1] The apologists, on the one hand, complain that pagans treat Christianity *at best* as a human philosophy, and on the other hand claim that, as such, Christianity should be conceded the liberty enjoyed by a philosophy. Tertullian (*Apol.* xlvi. f.) expatiates on this point at great length. Plainly the question was one of practical moment, the aim of Christians being to retain as philosophic schools and as philosophers at least some measure of freedom, when a thoroughgoing recognition of their claims could not be insisted upon. "Who forces a philosopher to sacrifice or take an oath or exhibit useless lamps at noon? No one. On the contrary, they pull down your gods openly, and in their writings arraign your religious customs, and you applaud them for it! Most of them even snarl at the Cæsars." The number of sects in Christianity also confirmed well-disposed opponents in the belief that they had to deal with philosophic schools (c. xlvii.).

a missionary; he not merely confirmed the faith of those who were already won, but also enlisted new members by his testimony and his death. Over and again this result is noted in the Acts of the martyrs, though it would lead us too far afield to recapitulate such tales. While they lay in prison, while they stood before the judge, on the road to execution, and by the act of execution itself, they won people for the faith. Ay, and even after death. One contemporary document (cp. Euseb., vi. 5) describes how Potamiæna, an Alexandrian martyr in the reign of Septimus Severus, appeared immediately after death even to non-Christians in the city, and how they were converted by this vision. This is by no means incredible. The executions of the martyrs (legally carried out, of course) must have made an impression which startled and stirred wide circles of people, suggesting to their minds the question: who is to blame, the condemned person or the judge?[1] Looking at the earnestness, the readiness for sacrifice, and the steadfastness of these Christians, people found it difficult to think that *they* were to blame. Thus it was by no means an empty phrase, when Tertullian and others like him asserted that the blood of Christians was a seed.

Nevertheless, it was not merely the confessors and martyrs who were missionaries. It was characteristic

[1] In the ancient epistle of the Smyrniote church on the death of Polycarp, we already find Polycarp a subject of general talk among the pagans. In the *Vita Cypriani* (ch. i.), also, there is the following allusion: "Non quo aliquem gentilium lateat tanti viri vita" ("Not that the life of so great a man can be unknown to any of the heathen").

of this religion that everyone who seriously confessed the faith proved of service to its propaganda. Christians are to "let their light shine, that pagans may see their good works and glorify the Father in heaven." If this dominated all their life, and if they lived according to the precepts of their religion, they could not be hidden at all; by their very mode of living they could not fail to preach their faith plainly and audibly.[1] Then there was the conviction that the day of judgment was at hand, and that they were debtors to the heathen. Furthermore, so far from narrowing Christianity, the exclusiveness of the gospel was a powerful aid in promoting its mission, owing to the sharp dilemma which it involved.

We cannot hesitate to believe that the great mission of Christianity was in reality accomplished by means of informal missionaries. Justin says so quite explicitly. What won him over was the impression made by the moral life which he found among Christians in general. How this life stood apart from that of pagans even in the ordinary round of the day, how it had to be or ought to be a constant declaration of the gospel—all this is vividly portrayed by Tertullian in the passage where he adjures his wife not to marry a pagan husband after he is dead (*ad uxor.*, II. iv.–vi.). We may safely assume, too, that really women did play a leading rôle in the spread of this religion (see below, Book IV., Chap. II.). But it is impossible to see in any one

[1] "Bonum huius sectae usu iam et de commercio innotuit," says Tertullian (*Apol.* xlvi.) very distinctly ("The worth of this sect is now well known for its benefits as well as from the intercourse of life"). Compare also what has been already specified in Book II., Chap. IV., and what is stated afterwards in Chap. IV. of this Book.

class of people inside the church the chief agents of the Christian propaganda. In particular, we cannot think of the army in this connection. Even in the army there were Christians, no doubt, but it was not easy to combine Christianity and military service. Previous to the reign of Constantine, Christianity cannot possibly have been a military religion, like Mithraism and some other cults.[1]

[1] Africa is the only country where one may feel inclined to suppose that the relations between Christianity and the army were at all intimate.

EXCURSUS.

TRAVELLING: THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS AND LITERATURE.

The apostles, as well as many of the prophets, travelled unceasingly in the interests of their mission. The journeys of Paul from Antioch as far as to Rome, and probably to Spain, lie in the clear light of history, but—to judge from his letters—his fellow-workers and companions were also continually on the move, partly along with him, and partly on their own account.[1] One thinks especially of that missionary couple, Aquila and Priscilla. To study and state in detail the journeys of Paul and the rest of these missionaries would lead us too far afield, nor would it be relevant to our immediate purpose. Paul felt that the Spirit of God drove him on, revealing his route and destination; but this did not supersede the exercise of deliberation and reflection in his own mind, and evidences of the latter may be found repeatedly throughout his travels. Peter also journeyed as a missionary; he too reached Rome.

However, what interests us at present is not so much the travels of the regular missionaries as the

[1] Read the sixteenth chapter of Romans in particular, and see what a number of Paul's acquaintances were in Rome.

journeys undertaken by other prominent Christians, from which we may learn what living factors personal communication and intercourse were throughout the early centuries. In this connection the Roman church acquires a position of surprising prominence. The majority of the Christians with whose travels we are acquainted made it their goal.[1]

Justin, Hegesippus, Julius Africanus, and Origen were Christian teachers who were specially travelled men, *i.e.*, men who had gone over a large number of the churches. Justin, who came from Samaria, stayed in Ephesus and Rome. Hegesippus reached Rome *viâ* Corinth after starting, about the middle of the second century, on an Eastern tour occupying several years, during which he visited many of the churches. Julius Africanus from Emmaus in Palestine also appeared in Edessa, Rome, and Alexandria. But the most extensive travels were those of Origen, who, from Alexandria and Cæsarea (in Palestine) respectively, appeared in Bostra, Antioch, Cæsarea (in Cappadocia), Nikomedia, Athens, Nicopolis, Rome, and other cities.[2]

The following notable Christians[3] journeyed from abroad to Rome:—

[1] See Caspari, *Quellen z. Taufsymbol*, vol. iii. (1875).

[2] Abercius (whose Christianity, however, is a matter of dispute) turned up at Rome and at the Euphrates from Hierapolis in Phrygia. For Clement of Alexandria, see below.

[3] The apostolic age is left out of account. It is very probable, I think, that Simon Magus also really came to Rome. Ignatius was taken thither from Antioch against his will, but several Christians accompanied him of their own accord. John, too, is said to have come to Rome, according to an early but poorly authenticated legend.

Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna (Eus., *H.E.*, iv. 14, v. 24).

Valentinus the gnostic, from Egypt (Iren., iii. 4. 3).

Cerdo the gnostic, from Syria (Iren., i. 27. 1, iii. 4. 3).

Marcion the heretic, from Sinope (Hippolytus, cited in Epiph., *Hær.*; xlii. 1 f).

Marcellina the heretic (Iren., i. 25. 6).

Justin the apologist, from Samaria (see his *Apology*; also Euseb., *H.E.*, iv. 11).

Tatian the Assyrian (*Orat.* xxxv.).

Hegesippus, from the East (Eus., *H.E.*, iv. 22, according to the ὑπομνήματα of Hegesippus).

Euelpistus, Justin's pupil, from Cappadocia (*Acta Justini*).

Hierax, Justin's pupil, from Cappadocia (*Acta Justini*).[1]

Rhodon, from Asia (Eus., *H.E.*, v. 13).

Irenæus, from Asia (Eus., *H.E.*, v. 1–4; [*Martyr. Polyc.*, append.]).

Apelles, Marcion's pupil (Tertull., *de praescr.* xxx.; though Apelles may have been born at Rome), from ——?

Florinus, from Asia (Eus., *H.E.*, v. 15. 20).

Proclus and other Montanists from Phrygia or Asia (Eus., *H.E.*, ii. 25, iii. 31, vi. 20; Tertull., *adv. Prax.* 1).

[Tertullian, from Carthage (*de cultu fem.*, i. 7; Eus., *H.E.*, ii. 2)].

Theodotus, from Byzantium (Epiph., *Hær.*, liv. 1).

Praxeas, from Asia (Tert., *adv. Prax.* 1).

[1] Euelpistus and Hierax, however, were probably involuntary travellers; they seem to have come to Rome as slaves.

[Abercius, from Hieropolis (see his inscription)].

Julius Africanus, from Emmaus (Κεστοί).

Alcibiades, from Apamea in Syria (Hippol., *Philos.*, ix. 13).

Prepon the Marcionite, an Assyrian (Hippol., *Philos.*, vii. 31).

Epigonus, from Asia (Hipp., *Philos.*, ix. 7).

Sabellius, from Pentapolis (Theodoret, *haer. fab.*, ii. 9).

Origen, from Alexandria (Eus., *H.E.*, v. 14).

Many Africans, about the year 250 (Cyprian's epistles).[1]

Shortly after the middle of the second century, Melito of Sardes journeyed to Palestine (Eus., *H.E.*, iv. 26), as did Alexander from Cappadocia (Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 11) and Pionius from Smyrna (about the middle of the third century, see the *Acta Pionii*); Julius Africanus travelled to Alexandria (Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 31); Hermogenes, a heretic, emigrated from the East to Carthage (Theophilus of Antioch opposed him, and Tertullian); Apelles went from Rome to Alexandria (Tert., *de praescr.* xxx.) during the Decian persecution; and afterwards, Roman Christians were despatched to Carthage (see Cyprian's epistles); at the time of Valerian's persecution, several Roman brethren were in Alexandria (Dionys. Alex., cited by Euseb., *H.E.*, vii. 11); while Clement of Alexandria, who himself got the length of Cappadocia (Eus.,

[1] Different motives prompted a journey to Rome. Teachers came to prosecute their vocation, others to gain influence in the local church, or to see this famous church, and so forth. Everyone was attracted to the capital by that tendency to make for the large towns which characterizes every new religious enterprise. How eagerly Paul strove to get to Rome!

H.E., vi. 11), had as a youth been instructed in Greece by a Christian who hailed from Cœle-Syria, in Greater Greece by another who came from Egypt, and in the East by other teachers hailing from Assyria and Palestine. This list is incomplete, but it will give some idea of the extent to which the travels of prominent teachers promoted intercommunication.

As for the exchange of letters, I must limit myself to a notice of the salient points. Here, too, the Roman church occupies the foreground. We know of the following letters and despatches issued from it:—

The pastoral letter to Corinth (*i.e.*, the first epistle of Clement), *c.* 96 A.D.

The "Shepherd" of Hermas, which (according to *Vis.*, ii. 4) was sent to the churches abroad.

The pastoral letter of bishop Soter to Corinth (*i.e.*, the homily he sent thither, or 2 Clem.). The letter in reply, from Dionysius of Corinth, shows that Rome had been for decades in the habit of sending letters and despatches to a number of churches.

During the Montanist controversy, under (Soter) Eleutherus and Victor, letters went to Asia, Phrygia, and Gaul.

During the Easter controversy, Victor issued letters to all the churches abroad.

Pontian wrote to Alexandria, assenting to the condemnation of Origen.

During the vacancy in the Papacy after bishop Fabian's death, letters passed to Carthage, to the other African churches, and to Sicily; the Roman martyrs also wrote to the Carthaginian.

Bishop Cornelius wrote numerous letters to Africa, as well as to Antioch and Alexandria.

Bishop Stephanus wrote to Africa, Alexandria, Spain and Gaul, as well as to all the churches abroad during the controversy over the baptism of heretics. He also sent letters and despatches to Syria and Arabia, following in this the custom of his predecessors.

Letters of bishop Xystus II. to Alexandria.

Letters of bishop Dionysius to Alexandria.

A letter and despatches of bishop Dionysius to Cappadocia.

A letter of bishop Felix to Alexandria.

Letters to Antioch during the trouble caused by Paul of Samosata.

Among the non-Roman letters are to be noted: those of Ignatius to the Asiatic churches and to Rome, that written by Polycarp of Smyrna to Philippi, the large collection of those written by Dionysius of Corinth (to Athens, Lacedæmon, Nicomedia, Crete, Pontus, Rome), the large collections of Origen's letters (no longer extant), of Cyprian's (to the African churches, to Rome, Spain, Gaul, Cappadocia), and of Novatian's (to a very large number of churches throughout all Christendom: no longer extant), and of those written by Dionysius of Alexandria (preserved in fragments). Letters were sent from Cappadocia, Spain and Gaul to Cyprian (Rome); the synod which gathered in Antioch to deal with Paul of Samosata, wrote to all the churches of Christendom; and Alexander of Alexandria, as well as Arius, wrote letters to a large number of churches in the Eastern empire.[1]

[1] Evidence for all these letters will be found in my *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, vol. i.

The more important Christian writings also circulated with astonishing rapidity.[1] Out of the wealth of material at our disposal, the following instances may be adduced:—

Ere the first half of the second century expired, the four gospels appear to have reached the majority, or at any rate a very large number, of churches throughout the empire.

A collection of Paul's letters was already known to Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and all the leading gnostics.

The first epistle of Clement (directed to Corinth) was in the hands of Polycarp (at Smyrna) and was known to Irenæus at Lyons, as well as to Clement of Alexandria.

A few weeks or months after the epistles of Ignatius were composed, they were collected and despatched to Philippi; Irenæus in Lyons and Origen in Alexandria were acquainted with them.

The Didachê was circulated in the second century through East and West alike.

The "Shepherd" of Hermas, in its complete form, was well known in Lyons, Alexandria, and Carthage, even in the second century.

The *Apology* and other works of Justin were known to Irenæus at Lyons, and to Tertullian at Carthage, etc. Tatian was read in Alexandria.

By the close of the second century, writings of

[1] On this point also I may refer to my History of the literature, where the ancient testimony for each writing is carefully catalogued. Down to about the reign of Commodus the number of Christian writings is not very striking, if one leaves out the heretical productions; but when the latter are included, as they must be, it is very great.

Melito, bishop of Sardes (during the reign of Marcus Aurelius) were read in Ephesus, Alexandria, Rome, and Carthage.

As early as about the year 200 A.D., writings of Irenæus (who wrote *c.* 190) were read in Rome and Alexandria, whilst, like Justin, he was known at a later period to Methodius in Lycia.

The writings of several authors in Asia Minor during the reign of Marcus Aurelius were read in Alexandria, Carthage, and Rome.

The "Antitheses" of the heretic Marcion were known to all the larger churches in the East and West by the end of the second century.

The apocryphal *Acta Pauli*, originating in Asia, was probably read in all the leading churches, and certainly in Rome, Carthage, and Alexandria, by the end of the second century.

Numerous writings of the Roman Hippolytus were circulated throughout the East. What a number of Christian writings were gathered from all parts of the world in the library at Cæsarea (in Palestine) is known to us from the Church History of Eusebius, which was written on the basis of this collection. It is owing primarily to this library, which in its way formed a counterpart of the Alexandrian, that we possess to-day an account of Christian antiquity which is connected, although its range is but limited.[1]

[1] Compare on this point the two tables, given in my *Litteratur-Geschichte*, vol. i. pp. 883–886, of "Early Christian Greek Writings in old Latin Versions," and "Early Christian Greek Writings in old Syriac Versions." No writing is translated into a foreign language until it appears to be indispensable for the purposes of edification or of information. Compare, in the light of this, the extraordinary amount of early Christian literature which was translated at an

These data are merely meant to give an approximate idea of how vital was the intercourse, personal and epistolary and literary, between the various churches, and also between prominent teachers of the day. It is not easy to exaggerate the significance of this fact for the mission and propaganda of Christianity. The co-operation, the brotherliness, and moreover the mental activity of Christians, are self-evident in this connection, and they were powerful levers in the extension of the cause. Furthermore, they must have made a powerful impression on the outside spectator, besides guaranteeing a certain unity in the development of the religion and ensuring the fact that when a Christian passed from the East to the West, or from one distant church to another, he never felt himself a stranger. Down to the age of Constantine, or at any rate until the middle of the third century, the centripetal forces in early Christianity were as a matter of fact more powerful than the centrifugal. And Rome was the centre of the former tendencies. The Roman Church was *the* catholic church. It was more than the mere symbol and representative of Christian unity, for to it more than to any other Christians owed unity itself.[1]

To what extent the literature of Christianity fell into the hands of its opponents, is a matter about

early period into Latin or Syriac. It is particularly interesting to ascertain what writings were rendered into Latin as well as into Syriac. The number of these was also considerable, and this forms an unerring aid in answering the question, which of the early Christian writings were most widely circulated and most influential.

[1] See my *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte,* Bd. I.[3] pp. 439–454, "Catholic and Roman" (Eng. trans., ii. 149–169).

which we know very little. Celsus furnished himself with quite a considerable Christian library, in which he studied deeply before he wrote against the Christians; but possibly it is merely a rhetorical phrase, when Athenagoras takes it for granted (*Suppl.* ix.) that the emperors knew the Old Testament. Writings of Origen were read by the Neoplatonist philosophers, who had also in their hands the Old Testament, the gospels, and the Pauline epistles. We can say the same of Longinus, Porphyry, and Aurelius. Among the educated circles of the West one great obstacle to the spread of Christianity lay in the Old Latin version of the Bible, which was written in vulgar Latin, and was so literal as almost to be unintelligible. How repellent must have been the effect produced, for example, by reading (Baruch., ii. 29) "Dicens: si non audieritis vocis meae, si sonos magnos hagminis iste avertatur in minima in gentibus, hubi dispergam ibi."[1] Nor could Christianity in the West boast of writers whose work entered seriously into the general literature of the age, at a time when Origen and his pupils were forcing an entrance for themselves. Lactantius,

[1] No doubt even the Greek text is unpleasing: λέγων ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσητε τῆς φωνῆς μου, εἰ μὴν ἡ βόμβησις ἡ μεγάλη ἡ πολλὴ αὕτη ἀποστρέψει εἰς μικρὰν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν οὗ διασπερῶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ.—Arnobius (i. 58) writes of the Scriptures: "They were written by illiterate and uneducated men, and therefore are not readily to be credited" ("Ab indoctis hominibus et rudibus scripta sunt et idcirco non sunt facili auditione credenda"). When he writes (i. 59): "Barbarismis, soloecismis obsitae sunt res vestrae et vitiorum deformitate pollutae" ("Your narratives are overrun by barbarisms and solecisms, and disfigured by monstrous blunders"), he is reproducing pagan opinions upon the Bible. Compare the remarks of Sulpicius Severus, and the reasons which led him to compose his Chronicle of the world.

whose evidence is above suspicion,[1] observes that in Latin society Christians were still considered the "stulti" (*Instit.*, v. 1 f.), and personally vouches for a lack of suitable and skilled teachers and authors; Minucius Felix and Tertullian could not secure "satis celebritatis," whilst, for all his admirable qualities as a speaker and writer, Cyprian "is unable to satisfy those who are ignorant of all but the words of our religion, since his language is mystical and designed only for the ears of the faithful. In short, the learned of this world who happen to get acquainted with his writings, are in the habit of deriding him. I myself once heard a really accomplished person call him 'Coprianus' [dung-man] by the change of a single letter in his name, as if he had bestowed on old wives' fables a polished intellect which was capable of better things" ("placere ultra verba sacramentum ignorantibus non potest, quoniam mystica sunt quae locutus est et ad id praeparata, ut a solis fidelibus audiantur: denique a doctis huius saeculi, quibus forte scripta eius innotuerant, derideri solet. audivi ego quendam hominem sane disertum, qui eum immutata una litera 'Coprianum' vocaret, quasi quod elegans ingenium et melioribus rebus aptum ad aniles fabulas contulisset").

In the Latin West, although Minucius Felix and Cyprian (*ad Donatum*) wrote in a well-bred style, Christian literature had but a very slender share in the spread of the Christian religion; in the East, upon the contrary, as well as among the Greek population of Rome, it became a factor of great importance from the third century onwards.

[1] No doubt he is anxious to make his own accomplishments perfectly clear.

CHAPTER II.

METHODS OF THE MISSION: BAPTISM, AND THE INVASION OF DOMESTIC LIFE.

ANYONE who inquires about the missionary methods in general, must be referred to what has been said in our second Book (pp. 102 f.). For the missionary *preaching* includes the missionary *methods*. The *one* God, Jesus as Son and Lord, future judgment and the resurrection—these truths were preached. So was the gospel of the Saviour and of salvation, of love and charity. The new religion was stated and verified as Spirit and power, and also as the power to lead a new moral life, and to practise self-control. News was brought men of that revelation of God to which humanity must yield itself by faith. A new people, it was announced, had now appeared, which was destined to embrace all nations; and therewith a primitive, sacred book was handed over, in which the world's history was depicted from the first day to the last.

In 1 Cor. i. 1–2 Paul explicitly states that he gave a central place to the proclamation of the crucified Christ; he summed up everything in this preaching, *i.e.*, in his announcement of Christ as *the Saviour*. But preaching of this kind implies that he

began by revealing and bringing home to his hearers their own impiety and unrighteousness (ἀσέβεια καὶ ἀδικέια), otherwise the preaching of redemption could never have secured a footing or done its work at all. Moreover, as the decisive evidence of men's impiety and unrighteousness, Paul adduces their ignorance regarding God and also regarding idolatry, an ignorance for which they themselves were to blame. To prove that this was their own fault, he appeals to the conscience of his hearers, and to a remnant of divine knowledge which they still possessed. The opening of the epistle to the Romans (chaps. i.-iii.) may therefore be taken to represent the way in which Paul began his missionary preaching. First of all, he brought his hearers to admit "we are sinners, one and all." Then he led them to the cross of Christ, where he developed the conception of the cross as the power and the wisdom of God. And interwoven with all this, in characteristic fashion, lay expositions of the flesh and the Spirit, with allusions to the approaching judgment.

So far as we can judge, it was Paul who first threw into such sharp relief the significance of Jesus Christ as a Redeemer, making this the central point of Christian preaching. No doubt, the older missionaries had also taught and preached that Christ died for sins (1 Cor. xv. 3); but in so far as they addressed Jews, or people who had for some time been in contact with Judaism, it was natural that they should confine themselves to preaching the imminence of judgment, and also to the task of proving from the Old Testament that the crucified Jesus was to return as the judge and the Lord of

the messianic kingdom. Hence quite naturally they could summon men to acknowledge him, to join his church, and to keep his commandments.

We need not doubt that this was the line of preaching adopted at the outset, and adapted to many people of pagan birth who had already become acquainted with some of the contents and characteristics of the Old Testament. The Petrine speeches in Acts are a proof of this. As for the missionary address ascribed to Paul in ch. xiii., it is plainly a blend of this popular missionary preaching with the Pauline manner; but in that model of a mission address to educated people which is preserved in ch. xvii.,[1] the Pauline manner of missionary preaching is perfectly distinct, in spite of what seems to be one vital difference. A beginning is made with the exposition of the true doctrine of God, whose main aspects are successively presented (monotheism, spirituality, omnipresence and omnipotence, creation and providence, the unity of the human race and their religious capacities, spiritual worship). The state of mankind hitherto is described as "ignorance," and therefore as something to be regretted; God will overlook it. But the new era has dawned: an era of repentance and judgment, involving faith in Jesus Christ, who has been sent and raised by God, and who is at once redeemer and judge.[2] Many of

[1] The address in xiv. 15 f. is akin to this.

[2] However the address in Acts xvii. 22–31, and the whole narrative of Paul's preaching at Athens, may have arisen, it remains the most wonderful passage in the book of Acts; in a higher sense (and probably in a strictly historical sense, at some vital points) it is full of truth. Above all, no one should have failed to recognize how closely the passage fits into the data which can be gathered

the more educated missionaries, and in especial Luke himself, certainly preached in this manner, as is proved by the Christian apologies, and by writings like the "Preaching of Peter." Christian preaching was bent on arousing a feeling of godlessness and unrighteousness, and it also worked upon the natural

from 1 Cor. i. f. and Rom. i. f., with regard to the missionary preaching of Paul. The following points may be singled out:—

(*a*) According to Acts xvii. 18, "Jesus and the Resurrection" were decidedly put in the front rank of Paul's preaching. This agrees with what may be inferred from 1 Cor. i. f.

(*b*) As Rom. i. 19 f. and ii. 14 f. prove, the exposition of man's natural knowledge of God formed a cardinal feature in the missionary preaching of Paul. It occupies most of the space in the address at Athens.

(*c*) In that very address the Judgeship of Jesus is linked on directly to the "ignorance" which has taken the place of the primitive knowledge of God (*καθότι ἔστησεν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ μέλλει κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὥρισεν*), precisely as Rom. ii. 14 f. is followed by ver. 16 (*ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὅτε κρίνει ὁ θεὸς τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ*).

(*d*) According to the Athenian address, between the time of "ignorance" and the future judgment there is a present interval which is characterized by the offer of saving faith (ver. 31). The genuinely Pauline character of this idea only needs to be pointed out.

(*e*) The object of this saving faith is the risen Jesus (ver. 31)—a Pauline idea of which again no proof is necessary.

The one point at which the Athenian address diverges from the missionary preaching which we gather from the Pauline letters, is the lack of prominence assigned by the former to the *guilt* of mankind; still, it is clear enough that their "ignorance" is implicitly condemned, and the starting-point of the address (*ὃ ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε, τοῦτο ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν*) made it hardly possible to lay any greater emphasis upon the negative aspect of the matter.

Several important features of Paul's work as a pioneer missionary may be also recognised in 1 Thessalonians (cp. Acts xviii. 18 f.). But it does not come within the scope of the present volume to enter more fully into such details.

consciousness of God; but never was it unaccompanied by the customary reference to the coming judgment.

The address put into the mouth of Paul by the "Acta Pauli" (*Acta Theclae*, 5. 6) is peculiar and quite un-Pauline (compare, however, the preaching of Paul before Nero). Strictly speaking, it cannot even be described as a missionary address at all. The apostle speaks in beatitudes, which are framed upon those of Jesus but developed ascetically. A more important point is that the content of Christian preaching is described as "The doctrine of the generation and resurrection of the Beloved" (*διδασκαλία τῆς τε γεννήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἠγαπημένου*), and as "the message of self-control and of resurrection" (*λόγος τῆς ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως*).[1]

[1] A brief and pregnant missionary address, delivered by an educated Christian, is to be found in the *Acta Apollonii* (xxxvi. f.). The magistrate's demand for a brief statement of Christianity is met thus:—*οὗτος ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὡς ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ κατὰ πάντα δίκαιος καὶ πεπληρωμένος θείᾳ σοφίᾳ, φιλανθρώπως ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς τίς ὁ τῶν ὅλων θεὸς καὶ τί τέλος ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ σεμνὴν πολιτείαν ἁρμόζον πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχάς· ὃς διὰ τοῦ παθεῖν ἔπαυσεν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* ("This Jesus Christ our Saviour, on becoming man in Judæa, being just in all things and filled with divine wisdom, taught us—in his love for men—who was the God of all, and what was the end of virtue, promoting a holy life, adapted to the souls of men; and by his sufferings he stopped the springs of sin"). Then follows a list of all the virtues, including the duty of honouring the emperor, with faith in the immortality of the soul and in retribution, all of which were taught by Jesus *μετὰ πολλῆς ἀποδείξεως*. Like the philosophers and just men before him, however, Jesus was persecuted and slain by "the lawless," even as one of the Greeks had also said that the just man would be tortured, spat upon, bound, and finally crucified. As Socrates was unjustly condemned by the Athenian sycophants, so did certain wicked persons vilify and condemn our Teacher and Saviour, just as already they had done to the prophets who foretold his coming, his work, and

The effect of connected discourses, so far as regards the Christian mission, need not be overestimated; in every age a single stirring detail that moves the heart, exerts a greater force than a long sermon. The book of Acts describes many a person being converted all at once, by a sort of rush. And the description is not unhistorical. Paul was converted, not by a missionary, but by means of a vision. The Ethiopian treasurer was led to believe in Jesus by means of Isaiah liii., and how many persons may have found this chapter a bridge to faith! Thecla was won over from paganism by means of the "word of virginity and prayer" (λόγος τῆς παρθενίας καὶτῆς προσευχῆς, *Acta Theclae*, ch. vii.), a motive which is so repeatedly mentioned in the apocryphal Acts, that its reality and significance cannot be called in question. Asceticism, especially in the sexual relationship, did prevail in wide circles at that period, as an outcome of the religious syncretism. The apologists had good grounds also for declaring that many were deeply impressed and eventually convinced by the exorcisms which the Christians performed, and we may take it for granted that thousands were led to Christianity by the stirring proclamation of judgment, and of judgment close at hand. Besides, how many simply

his teaching (προεῖπον ὅτι τοιοῦτός τις ἀφίξεται πάντα δίκαιος καὶ ἐνάρετος, ὃς εἰς πάντας εὖ ποιήσας ἀνθρώπους ἐπ' ἀρετῇ πείσει σέβειν τὸν πάντων θεόν, ὃν ἡμεῖς φθάσαντες τιμῶμεν, ὅτι ἐμάθομεν σεμνὰς ἐντολὰς ἃς οὐκ ἤδειμεν, καὶ οὐ πεπλανήμεθα: they predicted that "such an one will come, absolutely righteous and virtuous, who in beneficence to all men shall persuade them to reverence that God of all men, whom we now by anticipation honour, because we have learnt holy commands which we knew not and have not been deceived").

succumbed to the authority of the Old Testament, with the light thrown on it by Christianity! Whenever a proof was required, here was this book all ready.[1]

The mission was reinforced and positively advanced by the behaviour of Christian men and women. Paul often mentions this, and in 1 Pet. iii. 1 we are told that men who do not believe the Word are to be won over without a word by means of the conduct of their wives.[2] The moral life of Christians appealed to a

[1] Strictly speaking, we have no mission-literature, apart from the fragments of the "Preaching of Peter" and the *Apologies*, while the latter also entertain apologetic designs upon those who are already convinced of Christianity. The New Testament, in particular, does not contain a single missionary work. The Synoptic gospels must not be embraced under this category, for they are catechetical works, intended for the instruction of people who are already acquainted with the principles of doctrine, and who require to have their faith enriched and confirmed (cp. Luke i. 4). One might with greater reason describe the Fourth gospel as a missionary work, and the prologue especially suggests this view; yet even here the description would be inapplicable. Primarily, at any rate, even the Fourth gospel has Christian readers in view, for it is certainly Christians and not pagans who are addressed in xx. 31. Acts presents us with a history of missions, as is the deliberate intention of the author; but ch. i. 8 states what is merely the cardinal, and by no means the sole theme of the book.

[2] Details upon Christian women follow in Book IV. Chap II. But here we may set down the instructive description of a Christian woman's daily life, from the pen of Tertullian (*ad uxor.*, II. iv. f.) Its value is increased by the fact that the woman described is married to a pagan.

"If a vigil has to be attended, the husband, the first thing in the morning, makes her an appointment for the baths; if it is a fast-day, he holds a banquet on that very day. If she has to go out, household affairs of urgency at once come in the way. For who would be willing to let his wife go through one street after another to other men's houses, and indeed to the poorer cottages, in order to visit the brethren? Who would like

man like Justin with peculiar force, and the martyrdoms made a wide impression. It was no rare occurrence for outsiders to be struck in such a way that on the spur of the moment they suddenly turned to Christianity. But we know of no cases in which Christians desired to win, or actually did win, adherents by means of the charities which they dispensed. We are quite aware that impostors joined the church in order to profit by the brotherly kindness of its members; but even pagans never charged Christianity with using money as a missionary motive. What they did allege was that Christians won credulous people to their religion with their words of doom, and that they promised the heavy-laden a vain support, and the guilty an unlawful pardon. In the third century the missionary methods multiplied. It did seem at one moment in the crisis of the struggle against gnosticism as if the church could only continue to exist by prohibiting any inter-

to see her being taken from his side by some duty of attending a nocturnal gathering? At Easter time who will quietly tolerate her absence all the night? Who will unsuspiciously let her go to the Lord's supper, that feast which they heap such calumnies upon? Who will let her creep into gaol to kiss the martyrs' chains? or even to meet any one of the brethren for the holy kiss? or to bring water for the saints' feet? If a brother arrives from abroad, what hospitality is there for him in such an alien house, if the very larder is closed to one for whom the whole storeroom ought to be thrown open! . . . Will it pass unnoticed, if you make the sign of the cross on your bed or on your person? or when you blow away with a breath some impurity? or even when you rise by night to pray? Will it not look as if you sought to undertake some work of magic? Your husband will not know what it is that you eat in secret before you taste any food." The description shows us how the whole daily life of a Christian was to be a confession of Christianity, and in this sense a propaganda of the mission as well.

course with that devil's courtezan, philosophy; and the "simplices et idiotae," indeed, shut their ears firmly against learning. But even a Tertullian found himself compelled to oppose this standpoint, while the pseudo-Clementine Homilies made a vigorous attack upon the methods of those who would substitute dreams and visions for instruction and doctrine. That, they urge, is the method[1] of Simon Magus! Above all, it was the catechetical school of Alexandria, it was men like Clement and Origen, who by their patient and unwearied efforts won the battle for learning, and vindicated the rights of learning in the Christian church. Henceforward, Christianity used her learning also, in the shape of word and book, for the purpose of her mission (*i.e.*, in the East, for in the West there is little trace of this). But the most

[1] See *Homil.* xvii. 14–19, where censure is passed on the view that it is safer "to hear by means of an apparition than from the clearness of truth itself" (*ὑπὸ ὀπτασίας ἀκούειν ἢ παρ' αὐτῆς ἐναργείας*, 14); *ὁ ὀπτασίᾳ πιστεύων*, we read, *ἢ ὁράματι καὶ ἐνυπνίῳ ἀγνοεῖ τίνι πιστεύει* ("He who believes in an apparition or vision and dreams, does not know in whom he is believing"). Cp. 17: *καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ὁράματα καὶ ἐνύπνια ἀληθῆ βλέπουσιν . . . . τῷ εὐσεβεῖ ἐμφύτῳ καὶ καθαρῷ ἀναβλύξει τῷ νῷ τὸ ἀλήθες, οὐκ ὀνείρῳ σπουδαζόμενον, ἀλλὰ συνέσει ἀγαθοῖς διδόμενον* ("Even impious men have true visions and dreams . . . . but truth bubbles up to the natural and pure mind of the pious; it is not worked up through dreams, but vouchsafed to the good through their understanding"). In § 18 Peter explains that his own confession (Matt. xvi.) first became precious to himself when Jesus told him it was the Father who had allowed him to participate in this revelation. *Τὸ ἔξωθεν δι' ὀπτασιῶν καὶ ἐνυπνίων δηλωθῆναί τι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποκαλύψεως ἀλλὰ ὀργῆς* ("The declaration of anything external by means of apparitions and dreams is the mark, not of revelation, but of wrath divine"). In § 19 a negative answer is given to the question "whether anyone can be rendered fit for instruction by means of an apparition" (*εἴ τις δι' ὀπτασίαν πρὸς διδασκαλίαν σοφισθῆναι δύναται*).

powerful agency of the mission during the third century was the church herself in her entirety. As she assumed the form of a great syncretistic religion and managed cautiously to bring about a transformation which gnosticism would have thrust upon her violently, the mere fact of her existence and the influence exerted by her very appearance in history, wielded a power that attracted and captivated men.

When a newcomer was admitted into the Christian church he was baptized. This rite ("purifici roris perfusio," Lactant., iv. 15), whose beginnings lie wrapt in obscurity, certainly was not *introduced* in order to meet the pagan craving for the mysteries, but as a matter of fact it is impossible to think of any symbolic action which would prove more welcome to that craving than baptism with all its touching simplicity. The mere fact of such a rite was a great comfort in itself, for few indeed could reconcile themselves to a purely spiritual religion. The ceremony of the individual's immersion and emergence from the water served as a guarantee that old things were now washed away and gone, leaving him a new man. The utterance of the name of Jesus or of the three names of the Trinity during the baptismal act brought the candidate into the closest union with them; it raised him to their height. Speculations on the mystery at once commenced. Immersion was held to be a death; immersion in relation to Christ was a dying with him, or an absorption into his death; the water was the symbol of his blood. Paul had already taught this doctrine, but he rejected the speculative notions of the Corinthians (1 Cor. i.

13 f.) by which they also sought to bring the person baptized into a mysterious connection with the person who baptizes. It is remarkable how he thanks God that personally he had only baptized a very few people in Corinth. This is not, of course, to be taken as a depreciation of baptism, which Paul, like his fellows, recognized to be simply indispensable. The apostle is merely recollecting, and recollecting in this instance with satisfaction, the limitation of his apostolic calling, in which no duty was imposed on him beyond the preaching of the word of God. Strictly speaking, baptism does not fall within his jurisdiction. He may perform the rite, but commonly it is the business of other people. In the majority of cases it implies a lengthy period of instruction and examination, and the apostle has no time for that: his task is merely to lay the foundation. Baptism, therefore, marks, not the actual initiation, but the final stage of the initiation.

"Fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani": men are not born Christians, but made Christians. This remark of Tertullian (*Apol.* xviii.) may have held true of the large majority even after the middle of the second century, but thereafter a companion feature arose in the shape of the natural extension of Christianity through parents to their children. Subsequently to that period the practice of infant baptism was also inaugurated; at least we are unable to get certain evidence for it at an earlier date.[1] But whether infants or adults were baptized, baptism in either case was held to be a mystery which involved

[1] Here, too, I am convinced that the saying holds true, "ab initio sic non erat."

decisive consequences of a natural and supernatural kind. It was the general conviction that baptism effectually cancelled all past sins of the baptized person, apart altogether from the degree of moral sensitiveness on his own part; he rose from his immersion a perfectly pure and perfectly holy man. Now this sacrament played an extremely important rôle in the mission of the church. It was an act as intelligible as it was consoling; the ceremony itself was not so unusual as to surprise or scandalize people like circumcision or the taurobolium, and yet it was something tangible, something to which they could attach themselves.[1] And if one added the story of

[1] At the same time, of course, people of refined feeling were shocked by the rite of baptism and the declaration, involved in it, that all sins were now wiped out. Porphyry, whose opinion in this matter is followed by Julian, writes thus in Macarius Magnes (iv. 19):—"We must feel amazed and concerned about our souls, if a man thus shamed and polluted is to stand out clean after a single immersion, if a man whose life is stained by so much debauchery, by adultery, fornication, drunkenness, theft, sodomy, murder by poisoning, and many another shameful and detestable vice—if such a creature, I say, is lightly set free from it all, throwing off the whole guilt as a snake sheds its old scales, merely because he has been baptized and has invoked the name of Christ. Who will not commit misdeeds, mentionable and unmentionable, who will not do things which can neither be described nor tolerated, if he learns that he can get quit of all these shameful offences merely by believing and getting baptized, and cherishing the hope that he will hereafter find forgiveness with him who is to judge the living and the dead? Assertions of this kind cannot but lead to sin on the part of anyone who understands them. They teach men constantly to be unrighteous. They lead one to understand that they proscribe even the discipline of the law and righteousness itself, so that these have no longer any power at all against unrighteousness. They introduce a lawless life into an ordered world. They raise it to the rank of a first principle,

Jesus being baptized by John—a story which was familiar to everyone, since the gospel opened with it—not merely was a fresh field thrown open for profound combinations of ideas and speculations, but, thanks to the precedent of this baptism of Jesus, the baptism to which every Christian submitted acquired new unction and a profounder content. As the Spirit had descended upon Jesus at the former baptism, so God's Spirit hovered now upon the water at every Christian's baptism, converting it into a bath of regeneration and renewal. How much Tertullian has already said about baptism in his treatise *de baptismo*! Even that simple Christian, Hermas, sixty years previous to Tertullian, cannot say enough on the topic of baptism (*Sim.*, ix. 16); the apostles, he exclaims, went down into the under-world and there baptized those who had fallen asleep long ago.

It was as a mystery that the Gentile church took baptism from the very first,[1] as is plain even from the history of the way in which the sacrament took

that a man has no longer to shun godlessness at all—if by the simple act of baptism he gets rid of a mass of innumerable sins. Such, then, is the position of matters with regard to this boastful fable." But is Porphyry here quite candid in his detestation of sacraments and their saving efficiency in general, as well as in his description of the havoc wrought upon morals by baptism?

[1] This sacrament was not, of course, performed in secret at the outset, nor indeed for some time to come. It is not until the close of the second century that the secresy of the rite begins to appear, partly for educative reasons, partly because more and more stress came to be laid on the nature of baptism as a mystery. The significance attaching to the correct ritual as such, is evident as early as the Didachê (vii.), where we read that in the first instance running water is to be used in baptism; failing that, cold standing water; failing that, warm water; failing a sufficient quantity even of that, mere sprinkling is permissible.

shape. People were no longer satisfied with the simple bath of baptism. The rite was amplified; new ceremonies were added to it; and, like all the mysteries, the holy transaction underwent a development. Gradually the new ceremonies asserted their own independence, by a process which also is familiar. In the treatise I have just mentioned, Tertullian exhibits this development at an already advanced stage,[1] but on the main issue there was little or no alteration; baptism was essentially the act by which past sins were entirely cancelled.

It was a *mysterium salutare*, a saving mystery; but it was also a *mysterium tremendum*, an awful mystery, for the church had no second means of grace like baptism. The baptized person must remain pure, or (as 2 Clem., *e.g.*, puts it) "keep the seal pure and intact." Certain sects attempted to introduce repeated baptism, but they never carried their point; baptism, it was steadily maintained, could never be repeated, although the sacrament of penance gradually arose, by means of which the grace lost after baptism could be restored. Despite this, however, there was a growing tendency in the third century to adopt the custom of postponing baptism until immediately before death, in order to make the most of this comprehensive means of grace.

[2] On the conception and shaping of baptism as a mystery, see Anrich's *Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum* (1894), pp. 84 f., 168 f., 179 f., and Wobbermin's *Religionsgeschich. Studien z. Frage d. Beeinflussung des Urchristentums durch das antike Mysterienwesen* (1896), pp. 143 f. The latter discusses σφραγίς, σφραγίζειν, φωτισμός, φωτίζειν, and σύμβολον, the technical baptismal terms. The mysteries are exhibited in greatest detail by the *Pistis Sophia*.

Serious teachers fought against the custom, but they were not able to abolish it.

No less important than baptism itself was the preparation for it. Here the spiritual aspect of the Christian religion reached its highest expression; here its moral and social power was plainly shown. The Didachê at once corroborates and elucidates the uncertain information which we possess with regard to this point from the previous period. The pagan who desired to become a Christian was not baptized there and then. When his heart had been stirred by the broad outlines of the preaching of the *one* God and the Lord Jesus Christ as saviour and redeemer, he was then shown the will and law of God, and what was meant by renouncing idolatry. No summary doctrines were laid down, but the "two ways" were put before him in a most comprehensive and thoroughgoing fashion, and every sin was tracked to its lurking-place within. He had to renounce all sins and assent to the law of God, nor was he baptized until the church was convinced that he knew the moral code and desired to follow it (Justin, *Apol.*, I. lxvii.: λοῦσαι τὸν πεπεισμένον καὶ συγκατατεθειμένον, "to wash him who is convinced and has assented to our teaching").[1]

[1] Cp. Orig., *c. Cels.*, III. li.: "Having previously tested, as far as possible, the hearts of those who desire to become their hearers, and having given them preliminary instruction by themselves, Christians admit them into the community whenever they evince adequate evidence of their desire to lead a virtuous life. Certain persons are entrusted by Christians with the duty of investigating and testing the life and conduct of those who come forward, in order to prevent people of evil behaviour from entering the community, and at the same time to extend a hearty welcome to people of a different stamp and to improve them day by day."

The Jewish synagogue had already drawn up a catechism for proselytes and made morality the condition of religion; it had already *given a training* for religion. Christianity took this up, deepened it, and freed it from all externalism. In so doing it was actuated by the very strongest motives, for otherwise it could not protect itself against the varied forms of "idolatry" or realize its cherished ideal of being the *holy* church of God. For over a century and a half it ranked everything almost secondary to the supreme task of maintaining its morality. It recognized no faith and no forgiveness that could serve as a pillow for the conscience, and one reason why the church did not triumph over gnosticism at an earlier period was simply because she did not like to shut out people who owned Christ as their Lord and led a strictly moral life. Her power lay in the splendid and stringent moral code of her baptismal training; moreover, every brother was backed up and assisted in order that he might continue to be fit for the duties he had undertaken to fulfil.[1]

It is heartily to be deplored that the first three centuries present us with no biographies depicting the conversion or the inner rise and growth of any Christian personality. It is not as if such documents had perished; they were never written. We do not even know the inner history of Paul up to the day

[1] Origen distinctly remarks (III. liii.) that the moral training of catechumens and of young adherents of the faith varied according to the requirements of their position and the amount of their knowledge.

on which he reached Damascus; all we know is the rupture which Paul himself felt to be a sudden occurrence. Justin indeed describes to us (in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, i. f.) the steps leading up to his secession to Christianity, his passage through the philosophic schools, and finally his apprehension of the truth which rests on revelation; but the narrative is evidently touched up and it is not particularly instructive. Thanks to Tatian's *Oratio*, we get a somewhat deeper insight into that writer's inner growth, but here, too, we are unable to form any real idea of the change. Otherwise, Cyprian's little treatise *ad Donatum* is of the greatest service. What he sought for was a power to free him from an unworthy life, and in the Christian faith he found this power.

How deeply must conversion have thrust its wedge into marriage and domestic life! What an amount of strain, dispeace, and estrangement, conversion must have produced, if one member was a Christian while another clung to the old religion! "Brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child: children shall rise up against their parents and have them put to death." "I came not to bring peace on earth, but a sword. For I came to set a man at variance with his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and a man's foes shall be they of his own household. He who loveth father and mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he who loves son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me" (Matt. x. 21, 34–37). Only a very scanty record of these tragedies has come down to us. The orator

Aristides (*Orat.* xlvi.) alludes to them in a passage which will come up before us later on. Justin (*Apol.* ii.) tells us of an aristocratic couple in Rome, who were leading a profligate life. The woman became a Christian, and, unable ultimately to put up with her profligate husband any longer, proposed a divorce; whereupon he denounced her and her teacher to the city prefect as Christians.[1] When Thecla became a Christian, she would have nothing to do with her bridegroom—a state of matters which must have been fairly common, like the refusal of converted wives to admit their husbands' marital rights. Thecla's bridegroom denounced her teacher to the magistrates, and she herself left her parents' house. The scenes between Perpetua[2] and her father are most affecting. He tried at first to bring her back by force,[3] and then besought her with tears and entreaties (ch. v.).[4] The

[1] Tertullian distinctly says (*ad uxor.*, II. v.) that heathen husbands held their wives in check by the fact that they could denounce them at any moment.

[2] "Honeste nata, liberaliter instituta, matronaliter nupta, habens patrem et matrem et fratres duos, alterum aeque catechuminum, et filium infantem ad ubera" ("A woman of respectable birth, well educated, a married matron, with a father, mother, and two brothers alive, one of the latter being, like herself, a catechumen, and with an infant son at the breast").

[3] "Tunc pater mittit se in me, ut oculos mihi erueret, sed vexavit tantum . . . . tunc paucis diebus quod caruissem patrem, domino gratias egi et refrigeravi absentia illius" ("Then my father flung himself upon me as if he would tear out my eyes. But he only distressed me . . . . then a few days after my father had left me, I thanked the Lord, and his absence was a consolation to me"), ch. iii.

[4] "Supervenit de civitate pater meus, consumptus taedio et adscendit ad me, ut me deiiceret dicens: Filia, miserere canis meis, miserere patri, si dignus sum a te pater vocari; si his te manibus ad

crowd called out to the martyr Agathonikê, "Have pity on thy son!" But she replied, "He has God, and God is able to have pity on his own." "Uxorem iam pudicam maritus iam non zelotypus, filium iam subiectum pater retro patiens abdicavit, servum iam fidelem dominus olim mitis ab oculis relegavit" (Tert., *Apol.* iii.: "Though jealous no longer, the husband expels his wife who is now chaste; the son, now obedient, is disowned by his father who was formerly

hunc florem aetatis provexi, si te praeposui omnibus fratribus tuis; ne me dederis in dedecus hominum. aspice fratres tuos, aspice matrem tuam et materteram, aspice filium tuum, qui post te vivere non poterit . . . . haec dicebat quasi pater pro sua pietate, basians mihi manus, et se ad pedes meos jactans et lacrimans me iam non filiam nominabat, sed dominam" ("Then came my father from the city, worn out with anxiety. He came up to me in order to cast me down, saying, 'Daughter, have pity on my grey hairs; have pity on your father, if I am worthy to be called your father; if with these hands I have brought you up to this bloom of years, if I have preferred you to all your brothers, hand me not over to the scorn of men. Consider your brothers, your mother, your aunt, your son who will not be able to survive you.' . . . So spake my father in his affection, kissing my hands and throwing himself at my feet, and calling me with tears, not daughter, but lady"). Cp. vi.: "Cum staret pater ad me deiciendam jussus est ab Hilariano (the judge) proici, et virga percussus est. et doluit mihi casus patri mei, quasi ego fuissem percussa: sic dolui pro senecta eius misera ("As my father stood there to cast me down from my faith, Hilarianus ordered him to be thrown on his face and beaten with rods; and my father's ill case grieved me as if it had been my own, such was my grief for his pitiful old age"); also ix.: "Intrat ad me pater consumptus taedio et coepit barbam suam evellere et in terram mittere et prosternere se in faciem et inproperare armis suis et dicere tanta verba quae moverent universam creaturam" ("My father came in to me, worn out with anxiety, and began to tear his beard and to fling himself on the earth, and to throw himself on his face and to reproach his years, and utter such words as might move all creation").

lenient; the master, once so mild, cannot bear the sight of the slave who is now faithful"). Similar instances occur in many of the Acts of the martyrs.[1] Genesius (Ruinart, p. 312), for example, says that he cursed his Christian parents and relatives. But the reverse also happened. When Origen was young, and in fact little more than a lad, he wrote thus to his father who had been thrown into prison for his faith: "Take heed not to change your mind on our account" (Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 2).[2] In how many cases

[1] During the persecution of Diocletian, Christian girls of good family (from Thessalonica) ran off and wandered about, without their father's knowledge, for weeks together in the mountains ("Acta Agapes, Chioniæ, Irenes," in Ruinart's *Acta Mart.*, Ratisbon, 1859, p. 426). How bitterly does the aristocratic Fortunatianus complain before the judge, in the African *Acts of Saturninus and Dativus* (dating from Diocletian's reign; cp. above, p. 456), that Dativus crept into the house and converted his (the speaker's) sister to Christianity during the absence of her father, and then actually took her with him to Abitini (Ruinart, p. 417). Compare the scene between the Christian soldier Marcianus and his wife, a woman of pagan opinions, in the *Acts of Marcianus and Nicander* (Ruinart, p. 572). When her husband goes off to be executed, the woman cries: "Vae miserae mihi! non mihi respondes? miserator esto mei, domine; aspice filium tuum dulcissimum, convertere ad nos, noli nos spernere. Quid festinas? quo tendis? cur nos odisti?" ("Ah, woe is me! will you not answer me? pity me, sir. Look at your darling son. Turn round to us; ah, scorn us not. Why hasten off? Whither do you go? Why hate us?") See also the *Acta Irenaei*, ch. iii. (*op. cit.*, p. 433), where parents and wife alike adjure the young bishop of Sirmium not to sacrifice his life.—Of the martyr Dionysia we read (in Eus., *H.E.*, vi. 41. 18): ἡ πολύπαις μέν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸν κύριον δὲ ἀγαπήσασα ἑαυτῆς τὰ τέκνα ("She had a large family, but she loved not her own children above the Lord").

[2] Cp. Daria, the wife of Nicander, in the *Acts of Marcianus and Nicander*, who exhorted her husband to stand firm. Also the *Acts of Maximilianus*, where the martyr is encouraged by his father,

the husband was a pagan and the wife a Christian (see below, Book IV. Chap. II.). Such a relationship may have frequently remained endurable, but think of all the distress and anguish involved by these marriages in the majority of cases. See what Arnobius says (ii. 5): "Malunt solvi conjuges matrimoniis, exheredari a parentibus liberi quam fidem rumpere Christianam et salutaris militiae sacramenta deponere" ("Rather than break their Christian troth or throw aside the oaths of the Christian warfare, wives prefer to be divorced, children to be disinherited").

A living faith requires no special "methods" for its propagation; on it sweeps over every obstacle, nor can even the strongest natural affections avail to overpower it. But it is only to a very limited extent that the third century can be regarded in this ideal aspect. From that date Christianity exerted her influence as the monotheistic religion of mysteries and as the powerful church which embraced holy persons, holy books, a holy doctrine, and a sanctifying cultus. She even stooped to meet the needs of the masses in a way very different from what had hitherto been followed, and she studied their traditional habits of worship and their polytheistic tendencies by instituting and organizing festivals, deliverers, saints, and local sacred sites, after the popular fashion. In this connection the missionary method followed by Gregory Thaumaturgus (to which we have already referred on p. 395) is thoroughly characteristic; by consenting to

who rejoices in the death of his son; and further, the *Acta Jacobi et Mariani* (Ruinart, p. 273), where the mother of Marianus exults in her son's death as a martyr.

anything, by not merely tolerating but actually urging a certain syncretism, it achieved, so far as the number of converts was concerned, the most brilliant success. In the following Book (Chap. III., sect. III.B.) detailed information will be given upon this point.

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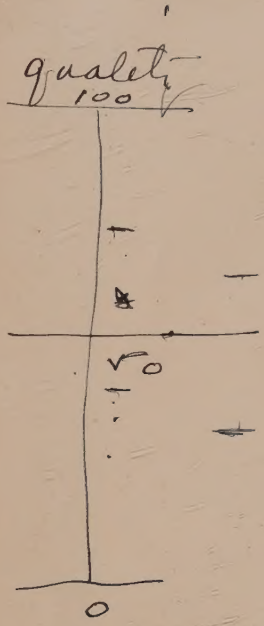
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